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THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Of the late Reverend and Learned

CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Princ[illegible]ian of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

Containing all his

WRITINGS,

Except the LIFE of *CICERO:*

Many of which were never before Published.

VOL. IV.

LONDON,
Printed for Richard Manby on *Ludgate-hill,*
and H. S. Cox in *Pater-noſter Row.*
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THE

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Of the Fourth VOLUME.

I. *GErmana quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta quibus Romanorum veterum Ritus varii tam Sacri quam Profani, tum Græcorum atque Ægyptiorum nonnulli illuſtrantur, Romæ ol[illegible]ma ex parte collecta, ac Diſſertationibus jam ſingulis [illegible] His Appendicis item Loco adjuncta eſt Mumiæ Cantabrigien[illegible]ſcriptio.*

II. *De Medicorum aqud Veteres Romanos degentium Conditione Diſſertatio; contra Viros Celeberrimos Jac. Sponium & Rich. Meadium, M. D. D. Servilem atque ignobilem eam fuiſſe oſtenditur.*

III. *Diſſertationis de Medicorum Romæ Degentium conditione ignobili & ſervili, contra Anonymos quoſdam Notarum brevium, Reſponſionis, atque animadverſionis Auctores, Defenſio.*

IV. *The Epiſtles of M. T. Cicero to M. Brutus, and of Brutus to Cicero: with the Latin Text on tae oppoſite page, and Engliſh Notes to each Epiſtle, together with a prefatory Diſſertation, in which the authority of the ſaid Epiſtles is vindicated, and all the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Tunſtall particulaly conſidered and confuted.*

John Adams

Germana quædam ANTIQUITATIS eruditæ

MONUMENTA

QUIBUS

Romanorum veterum Ritus varii

Tam Sacri quam Proſani,

Tam Græcorum atque Ægyptiorum nonnulli

ILLUSTRANTUR,

Romæ olim maxima ex parte collecta,

Ac DISSERTATIONIBUS jam ſingulis inſtructa,

A *CONYERS MIDDLETON*, S. T. P.

Academiæ Cantabrigienſis Protobibliothecario.

His Appendicis item Loco adjuncta eſt MUMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS Deſcriptio.

> *Quis autem eſt, quem non moveat clariſſimis Monumentis teſtata, conſignataque Antiquitas?*
> Cic. de Divin. l. 1. 40.

ALMAE MATRI

ACADEMIAE CANTABRIGIENSI

ARTIVM OPTIMARVM ALTRICI

VIRTVTVM OMNIVM FAVTRICI

CVI

QVOSCVNQVE IN LITTERARVM STVDIIS

VEL PROGRESSVS FECERIT VEL PRAEMIA

ACCEPERIT SE PENITVS DEBERE PROFITETVR

CONYERS MIDDLETON

HOC OPVSCVLVM OTII ALIQVANDO SVI

OBLECTAMENTVM NEC IVVENTVTI

FORTASSE ACADEMICAE IAM INVTILE

FVTVRVM

IN PERPETVVM OBSERVANTIAE SVAE

AC GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIVM

LIBENS MERITO

D. D. D.

PRÆFATIO.

CUM valetudinis olim confirmandæ cauſa, cœlum mutare, et litterarum ſtudiis aliquandiu depoſitis, peregre proficiſci decreviſſem, tum ad Italiam illico iter tendere, ac Romæ urbium amœniſſimæ otiari, mihi ante omnia placuit. Ut ad illam autem acceſſi, loci admonitu incitatus, ſplendoriſque ejus priſci memoriam recolens, non tam ad novæ urbis ornamenta, magnifica ea quidem et ſuperba, quam ad antiquæ veſtigia et monumenta perquirenda, memet contuli: quæ quidem omnia, etiamſi ab aliis deſcripta magnam ſæpe voluptatem legenti antea dediſſent, at oculis tamen ſubjecta, majorem mihi longe, res ipſas jam contemplanti, præbere ſenſi.

In hac igitur antiquitatis contemplatione pæne defixus, paucula ſtatim quædam, ex urbis ruderibus effoſſa, artium veterum ſpecimina, rituumque veterum inſtrumenta coemere cœpi: atque ab his initiis, ſarcinulam paullatim quandam, qua in Angliam tandem inſtructus redirem, colligere ſtatui: in qua tamen colligenda, non illud mihi propoſitum erat, ut ea ſolummodo, quæ materia aut opere præſtarent, ſed quæ eruditionem, ut aiunt, aliquam continerent, ritumve aliquem illuſtrarent, ad Bibliothecæ quaſi meæ ornatum, compararem.

Etenim hoc peregrinantibus fere commune eſſe ſcimus, quæcunque in exteris terris rariora, aut regionis alicujus propria ſint, ea potiſſimum conquirere, domumque deportare; ut eorum deinde conſpectu, locorum quos peragraverint memoriam revocare, atque itineris præteriti voluptatem quodammodo redintegrare poſſint. At vero ex omnibus Orbis terræ regionibus, ager certe Romanus res iſtiuſmodi pretioſiſſimas, et litteratorum præcipue ingeniis accommodatiſſimas edit. Quippe aliæ terræ marmora, aurum, gemmaſve fortaſſe, ſed rudes tantum pariunt; hæc autem marmora in varias formas exquiſite ficta, aurum eximio opere cœlatum, gemmas ſummo artificio ſculptas, ex ſeſe fundit: quorum ipſe ſingulorum exempla ſane haud pauca, dum in iis locis commorabar, ex ea effoſſa vidi.

Ex his autem agri Romani divitiis, neminem profecto de peregrinatoribus noſtris, theſaurum inde deportaſſe credo, et rerum delectu et pretio magis æſtimabilem, ac quem amicus meus nobilis, Horatius Walpole in Angliam nuper advexit; Juvenis, non tam generis nobilitate, ac paterni nominis gloria, quam ingenio, doctrina, et virtute propria illuſtris. Ille vero haud citius fere in patriam reverſus eſt, quam de ſtudiis meis, ut conſuerat, familiariter per litteras quærens, mihi ultro de copia ſua, quicquid ad argumenti mei rationem, aut libelli ornamentum pertineret, pro arbitrio meo utendum obtulit. Quam quidem ejus liberalitatem libenter admodum amplexus eſſem, ni operis hujus, jam prope abſoluti, faſtidio quodam correptus, atque ad alia feſtinans, intra terminos ei ab initio deſtinatos, illud continere ſtatuiſſem: attamen præclaram iſtam Muſei Walpoliani ſupellectilem, ab interprete aliquo peritiore propediem explicandam, edendamque eſſe confido.

Sed

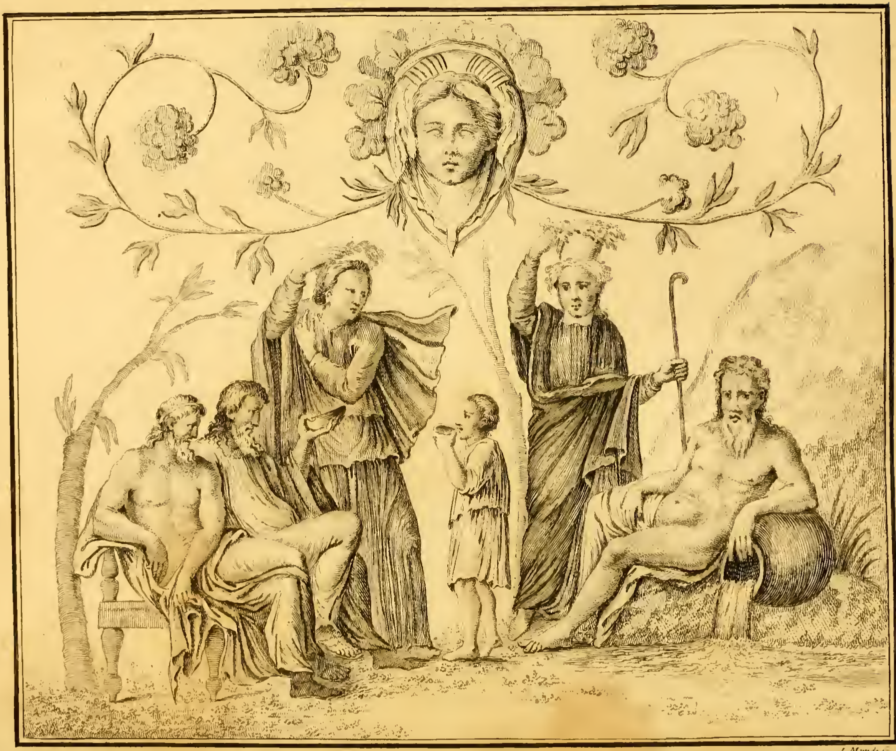
Sed ut ad propoſitum revertar. Meæ iſti, quam modo dixi, emendi cupiditati, facultatum mearum tenuitas modum impoſuit, nec ultra hanc rerum congeriem, quam in his Tabellis expoſitam videmus, eam provehi paſſa eſt: quæ, cum multos jam annos in armariis meis cuſtodita, otium ſæpe meum oblectaſſet, ſermoniſque cum familiaribus meis haud injucundi argumentum præbuiſſet, in lucem demum idcirco emiſſa eſt, ut quos mihi unquam vel delectationis, vel utilitatis fructus attuliſſet, eoſdem item ceteris, qui hæc ſtudia perſequuntur, impertire poſſet. In ea enim nonnulla reperiemus, quæ ob raritatem atque operis etiam excellentiam, vel inter præſtantiſſima ex hoc genere Antiquitatis monumenta numerari queant: de reliquis autem, ſi quæpiam contra, vulgaria nimis, atque hac tanta diſſerendi pompa vix digna videantur, at ritum ea tamen, ut dixi, moremve aliquem, non ab aliis fortaſſe memoratum, aut clare ſatis explicatum, plerumque illuſtrant. Atque illud etiam animadvertendum eſt, hujuſmodi videlicet opera, non peritis modo et intelligentibus, ſed ſtudioſis communiter omnibus et diſcendi cupidis proponi; atque ad omnium ideo ingenium accommodari ſolere; ita ut quæ peritioribus fortaſſe tædium faſtidiumque creent, eadem tamen aliis, in hoc genere minus exercitatis, eruditionis ac ſcientiæ acceſſionem aliquam afferant. Iſtud vero utcunque fuerit, hoc ſaltem dicere licet, hunc omnem, qualiſcunque eſt, rerum antiquarum apparatum, non quo ſcribendi occaſionem arriperem, aut eruditionem meam oſtentarem, ex aliorum Muſeis deſumptum, ſed meo opere ac ſumptu conquiſitum eſſe; neque uſum ejus meliorem me quidem excogitare potuiſſe, quam ut accurate deſcriptum, ac diſſertationibus hiſce inſtructum, in publicum proponerem.

Ad hanc vero rerum mearum editionem, Mumiam item Cantabrigienſem, appendicis loco adjungere libuit, quoniam et mihi ea præcipue in cuſtodiam tradita eſt, et nihil Academiæ ipſi me gratius facere poſſe cognovi, quam ut, quodcunque in theſauris ſuis lateat, quod litterarum ſtudia accendere, litteratoſve erudire aut delectare poſſit, illud pariter in commune omnium beneficium pervulgarem.

Sin autem reperti aliqui erunt, qui hoc omne litterarum genus, tanquam leve prorſus, atque homine gravi ac ſene præſertim indignum aſpernentur; ego tamen multorum et graviſſimorum virorum exemplis memet defendere potero, qui vitam fere in his ipſis ſtudiis conſumpſerunt. At iſtiuſmodi reprehenſores meminerint, velim, quantum in juventute noſtra inſtituenda, litteriſque humanioribus imbuenda, hæc una rerum antiquarum cognitio locum obtineat, quantamque vim habeat: hoc enim ſi ſecum reputare volent, tum profecto, quicquid ad cognitionem eam illuſtrandam auxilii aliquid afferat, illud fructus non contemnendos editurum eſſe, intelligent. Neque provectioris ætatis hominibus aut injucundum, opinor, aut inutile foret, fontes eos antiquos interdum repetere, unde primos doctrinæ liberalioris hauſtus duxerint, quibuſque omnem eam, quamcunque teneant, cogitandi, dicendi, ſcribendive elegantiam, acceptam plerumque referre oportet.

Sed ut dicam plane quod ſentio: juniores certe, ad hujuſmodi ſtudia perſequenda, aptiores eſſe fatendum eſt: eoque memet libentius ad hoc opus abſolvendum accinxi, ut eo demum abſoluto, his aliquando litteris valedicerem, atque hæc earum fomenta, ex animo pariter ac manibus emitterem. Etenim ætas mea jam ingraveſcens ad graviora quædam et perſonæ accommodatiora me progredi monet; et quanto minus vitæ mihi reliquum ſit, tanto magis ea meditari, atque ea ſcribere, quæ vitæ futuræ ſpem confirmare, poſſeſſionemque nobis præſtare queant. Ea nimirum, quæ moribus publicis emendandis, et virtuti pietatique propagandæ conducant; quæque religionem potiſſimum Chriſtianam, benevolentiæ, pacis, ac gaudii conciliatricem, ab omni prava mixtura, papiſtica fraude, anili ſuperſtitione, fanatico furore, qualis olim e cœlis deſcenderit, puram ſinceramque conſervent.

TAB.I.



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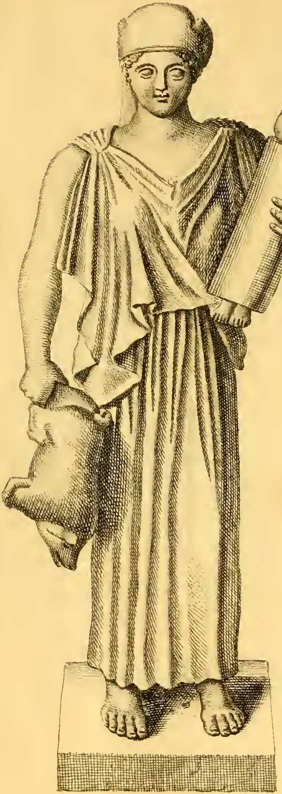

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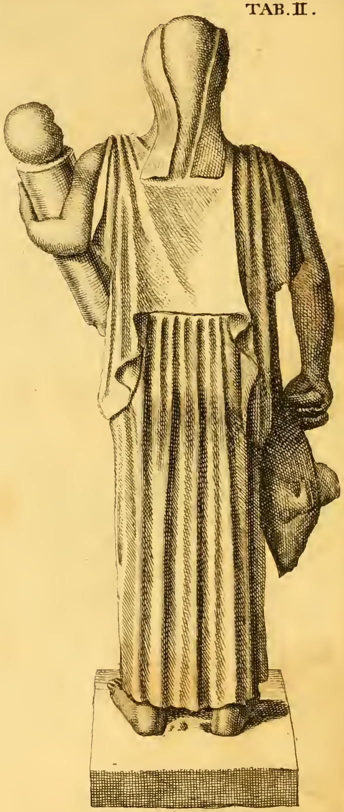

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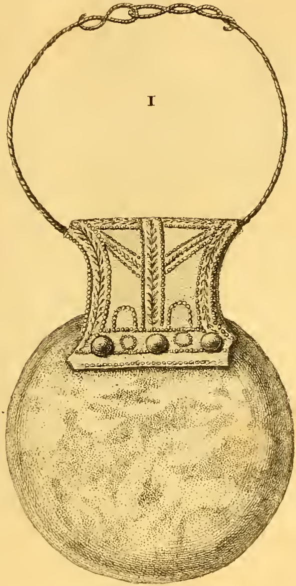

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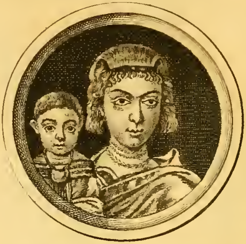

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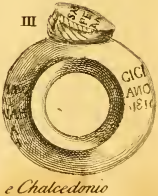

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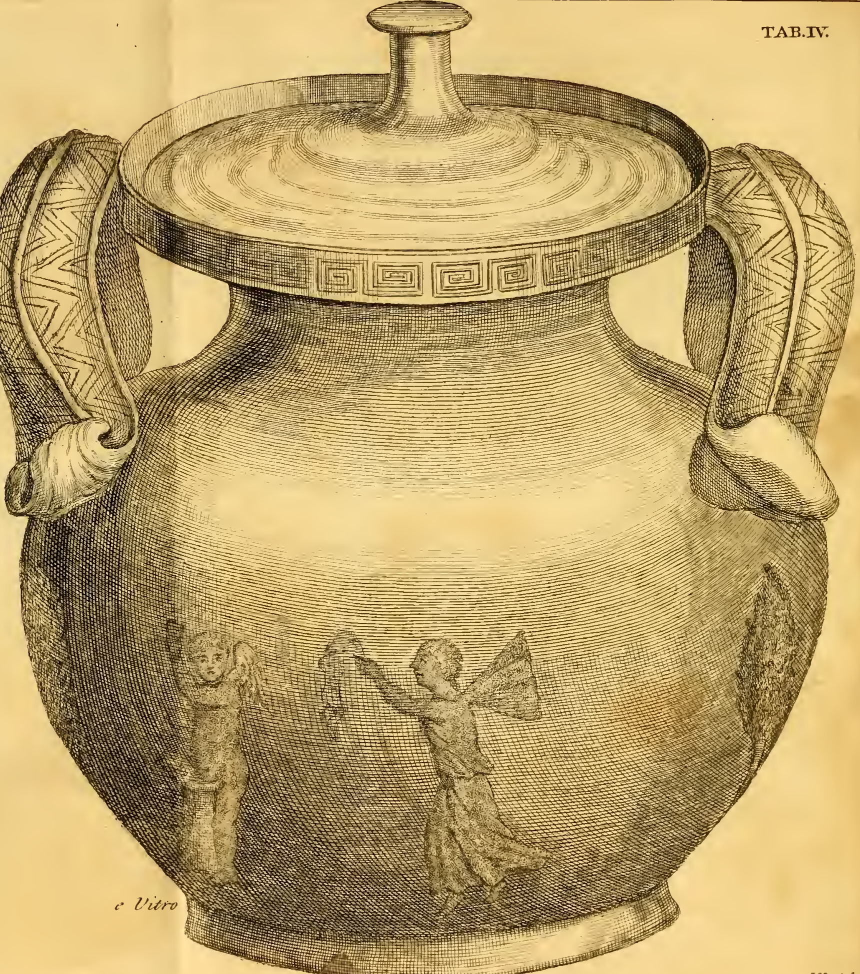
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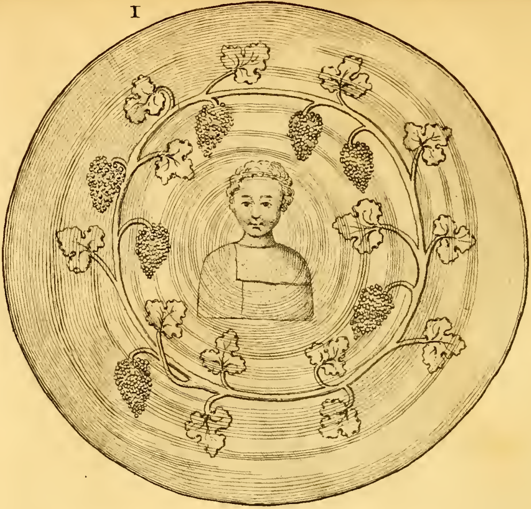

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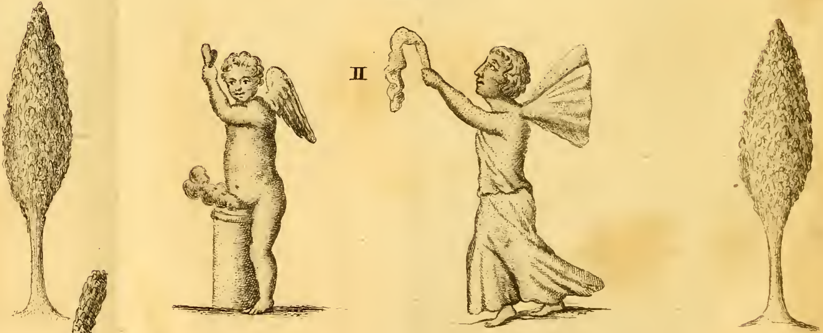

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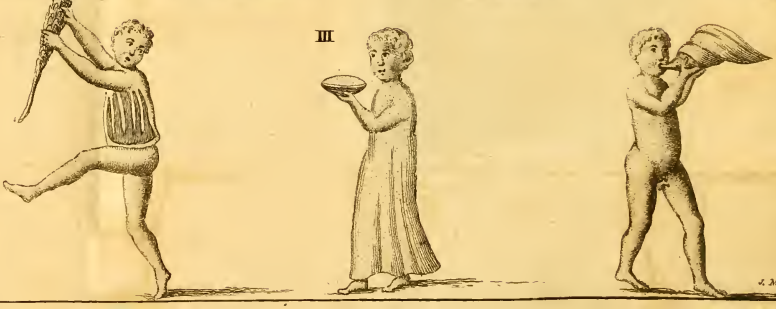

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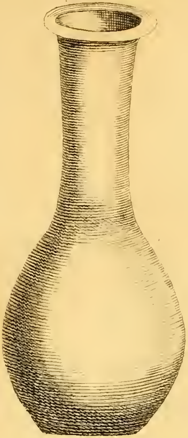

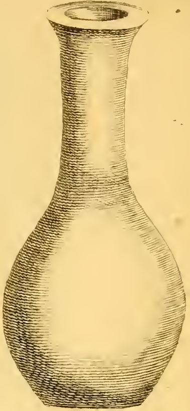

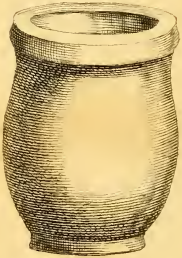

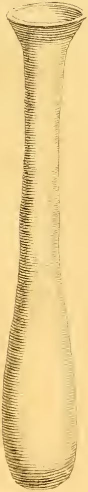

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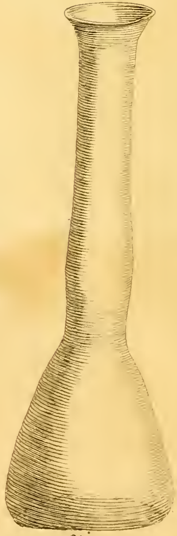

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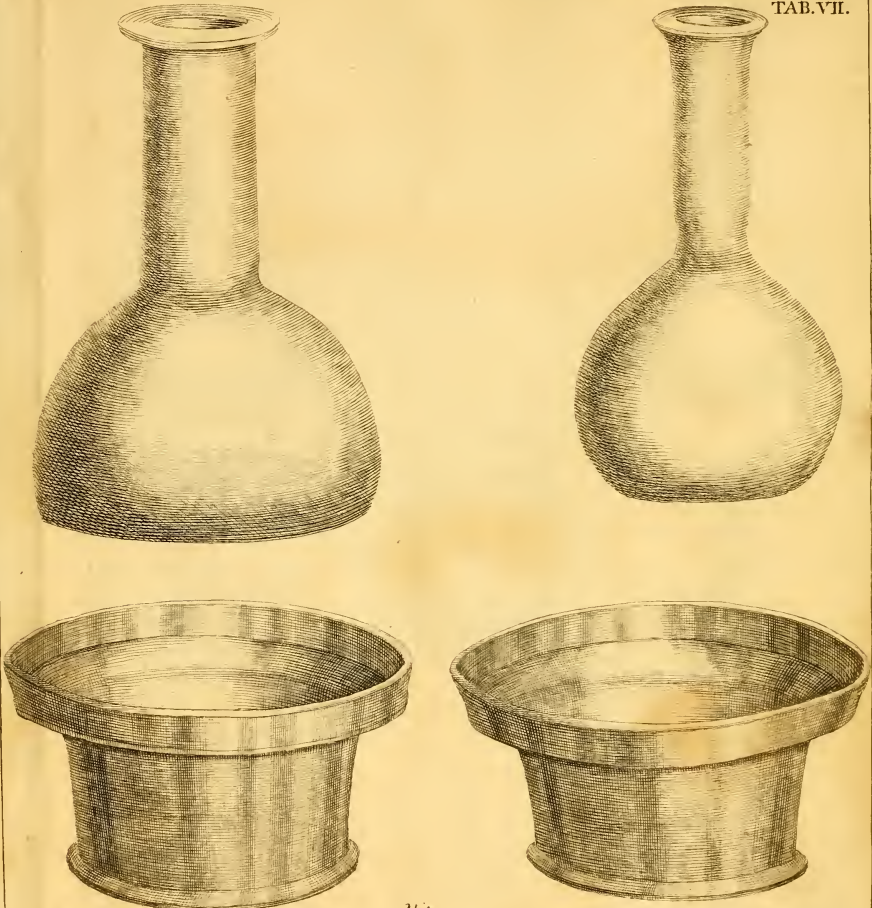

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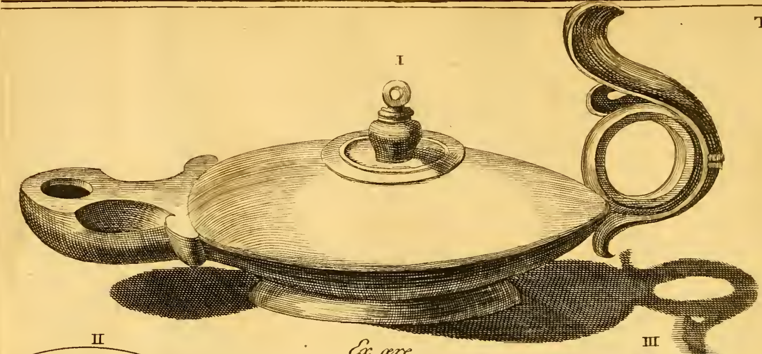

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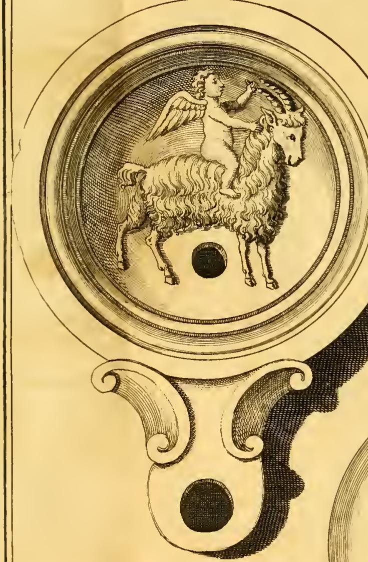

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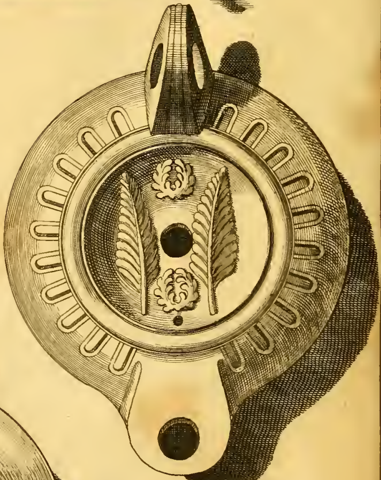

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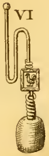

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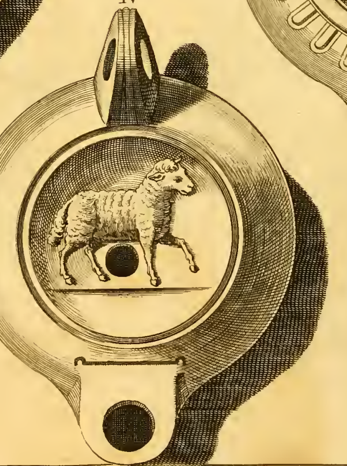

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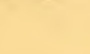

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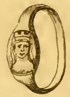

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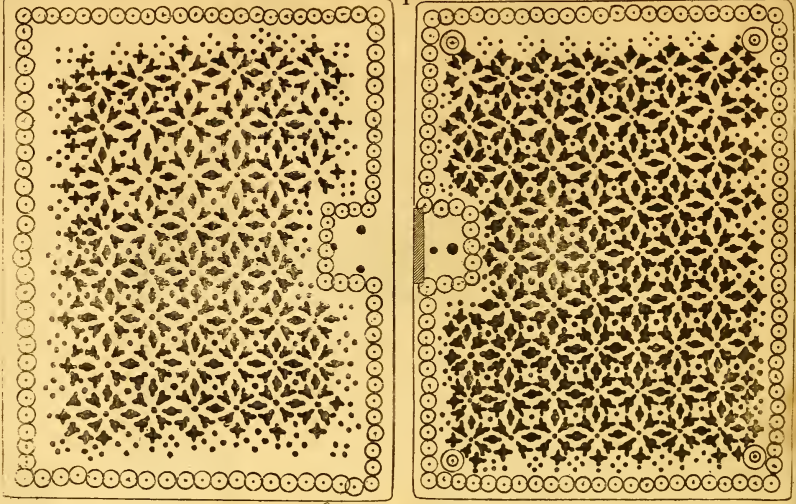

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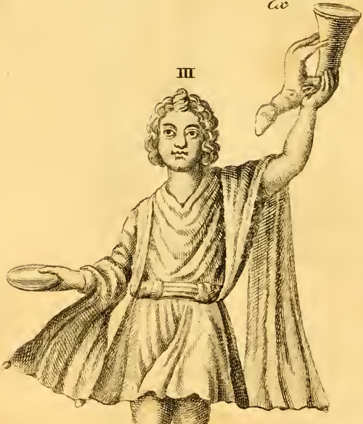

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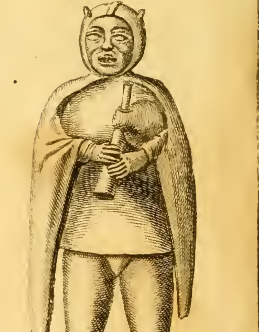

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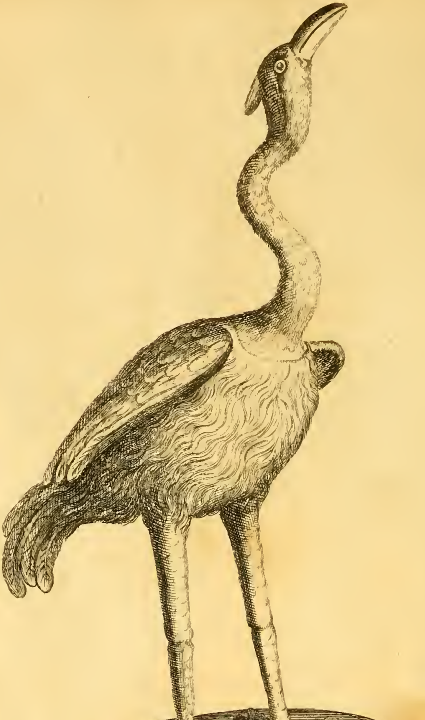

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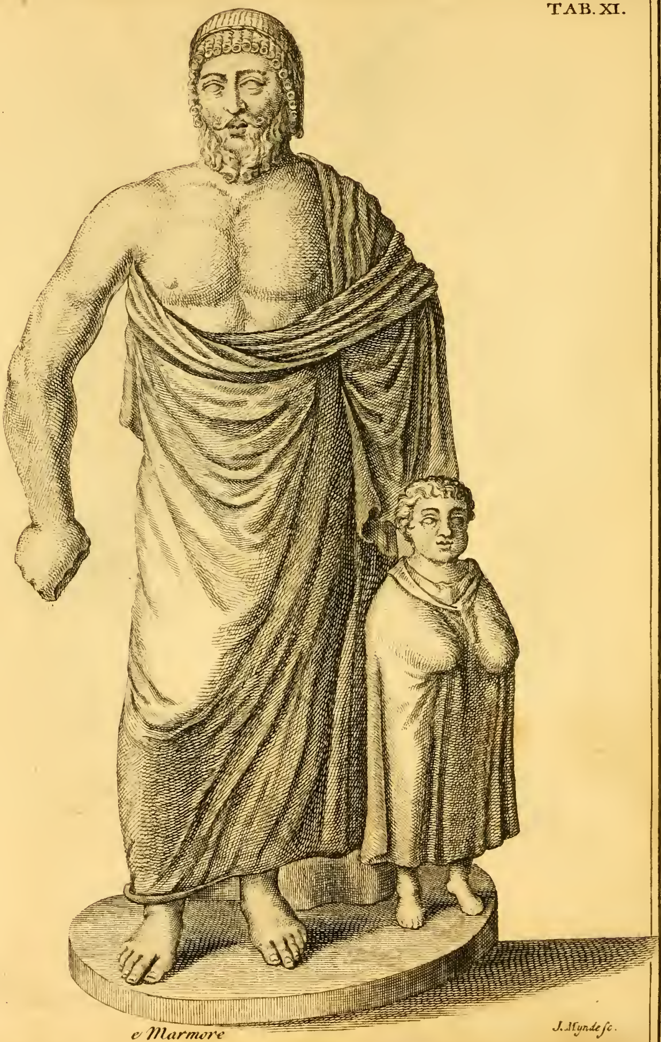

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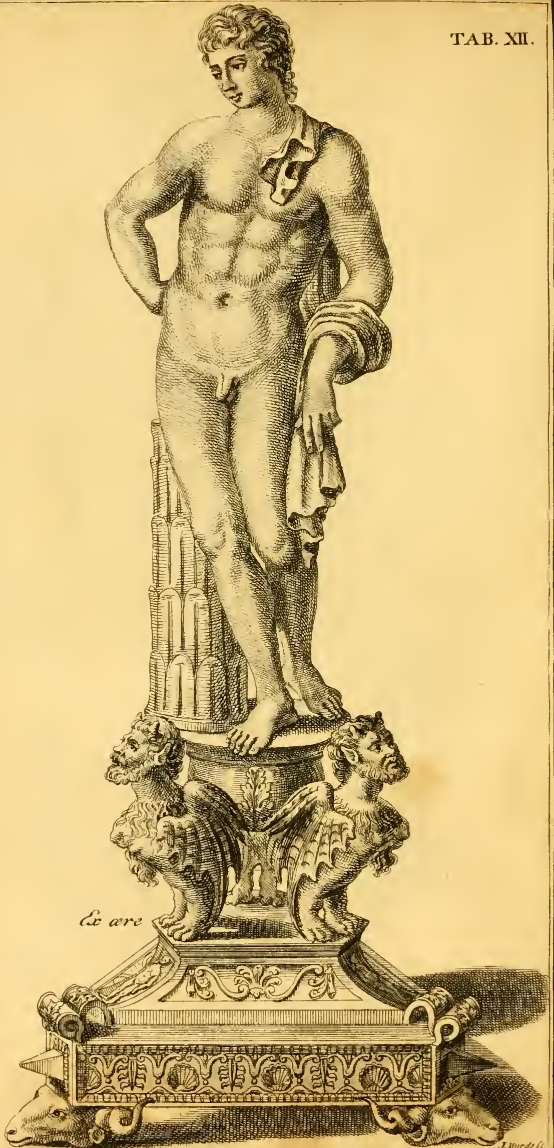
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TAB. XIII.

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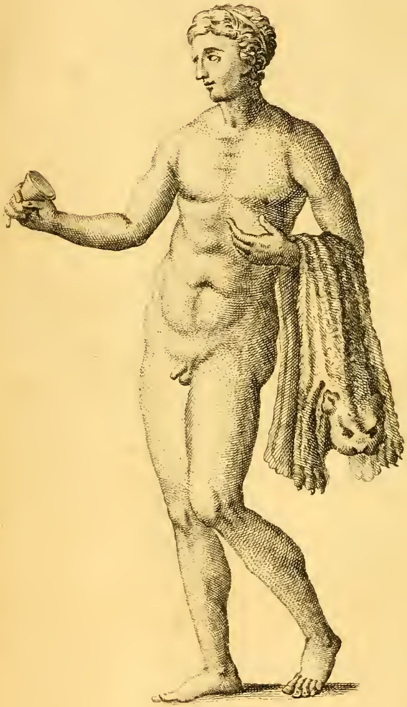

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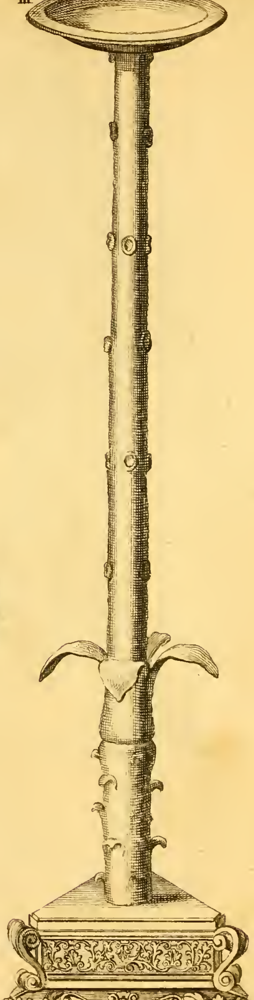

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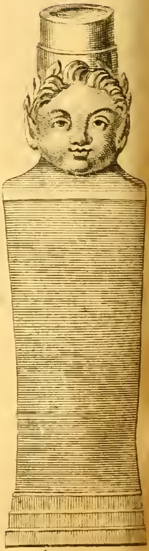

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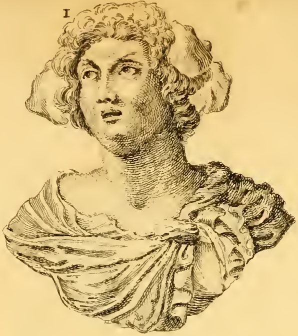

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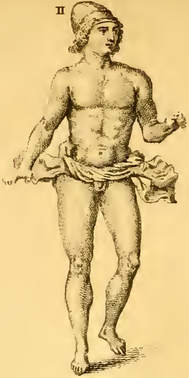

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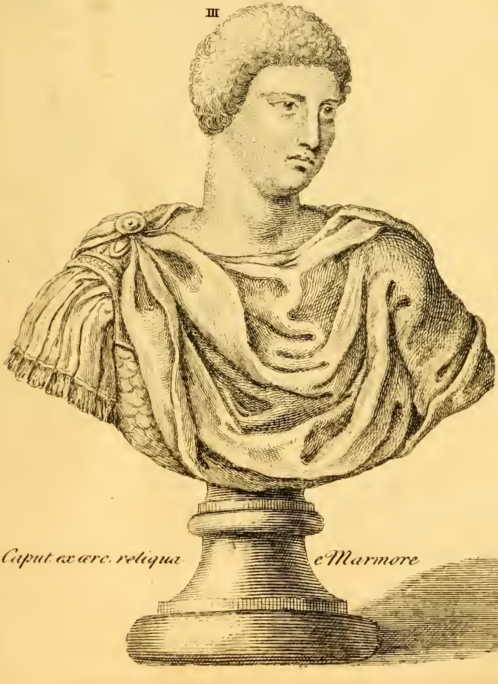
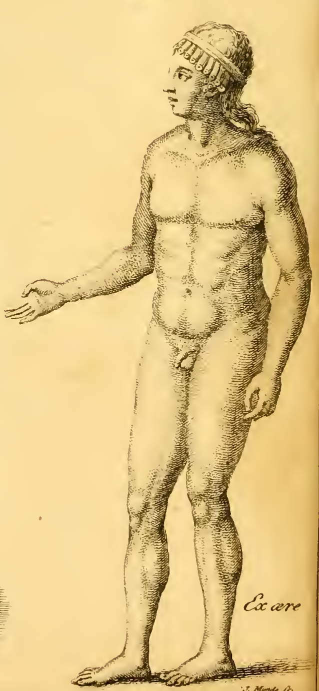


Caput. ex ære. reliqua e Marmore



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J. Mynde ſc.

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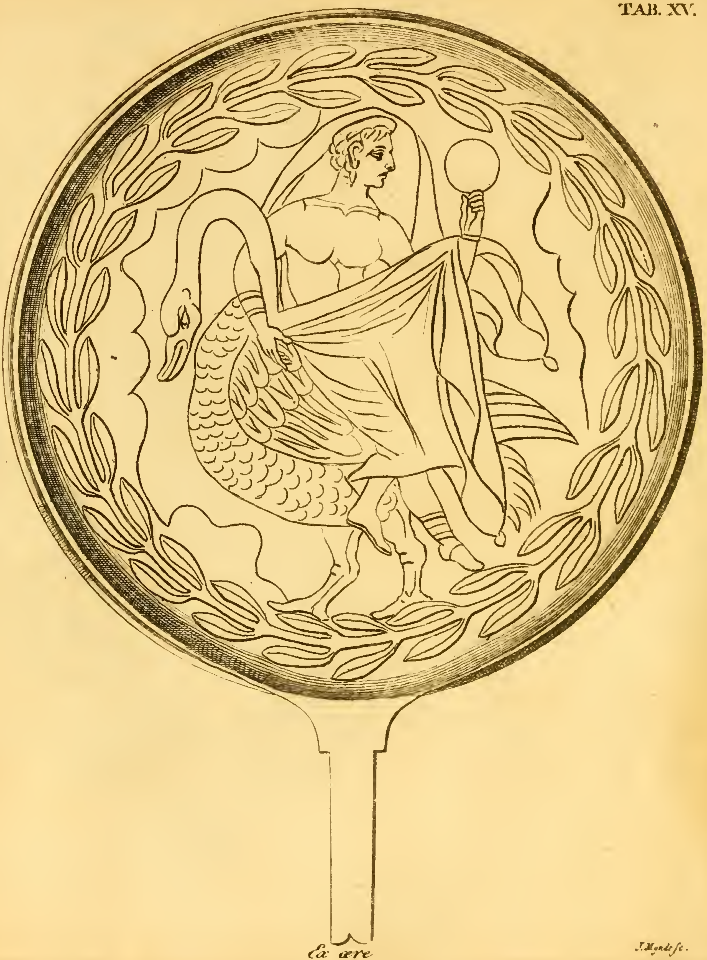

Ex ære

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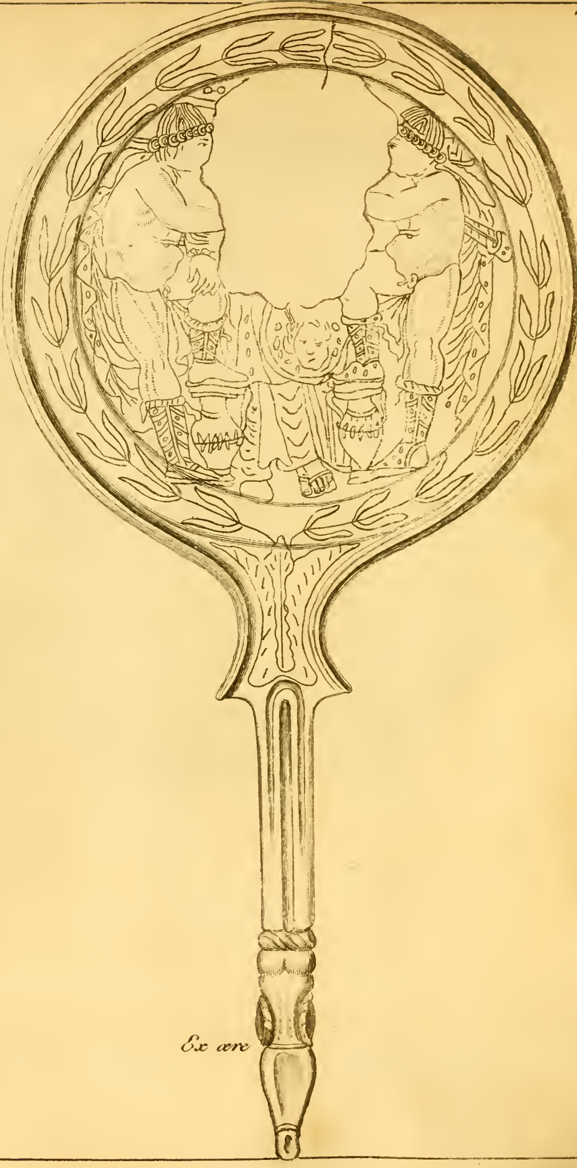
TAB. XVI.



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TAB. XVII.

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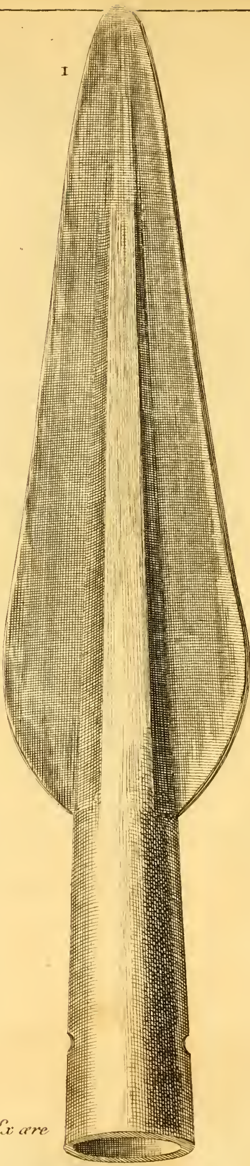

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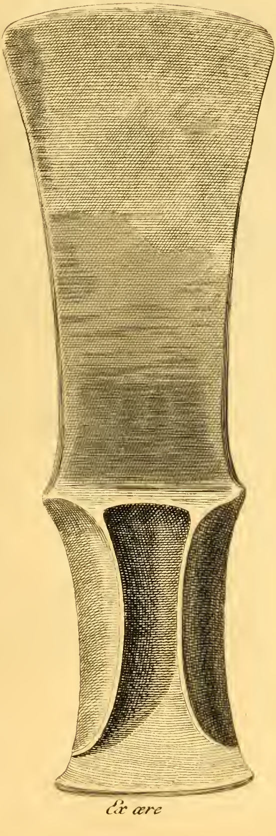

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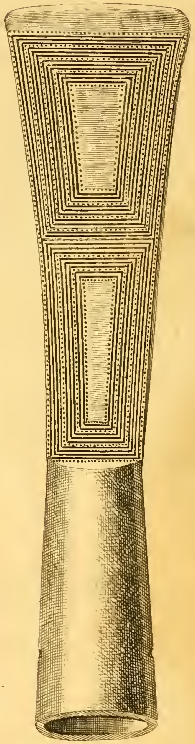

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TAB. XVIII.

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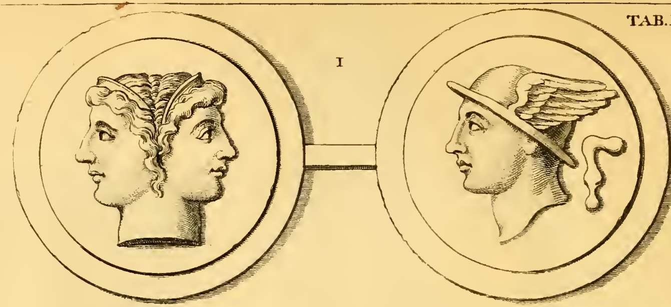

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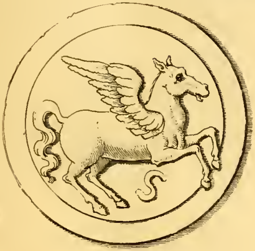

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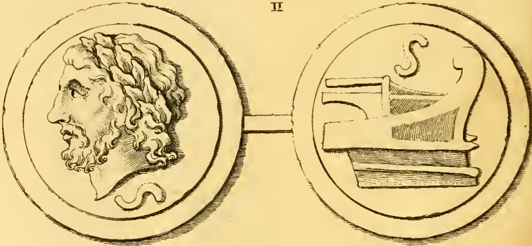

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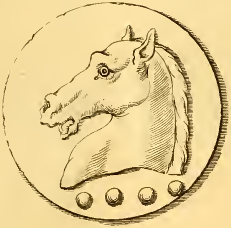

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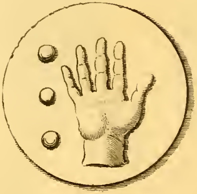

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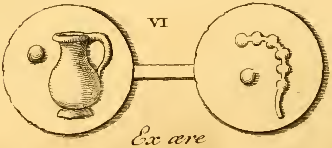

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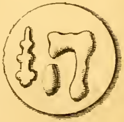

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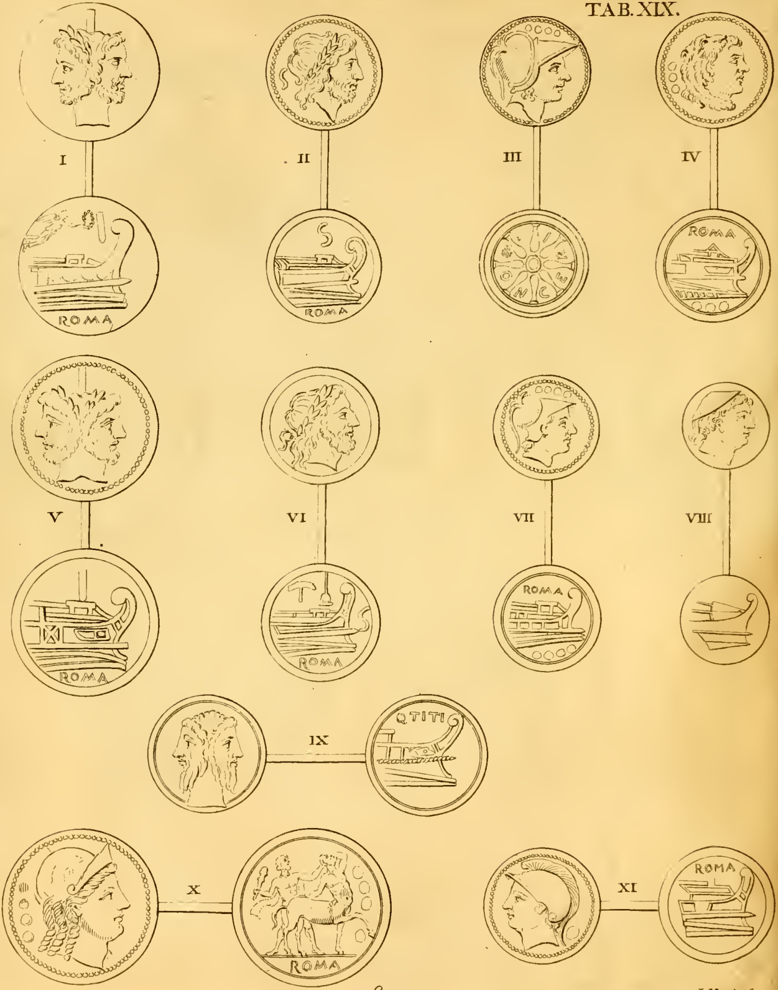
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TAB. XX.

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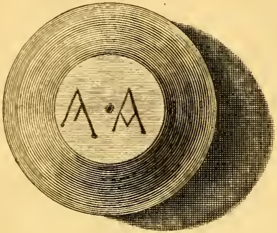

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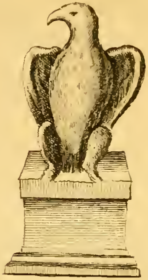

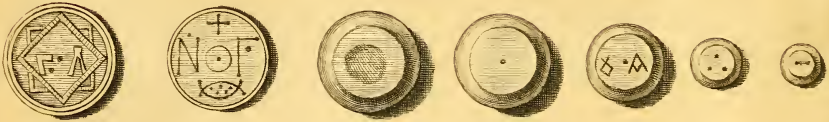

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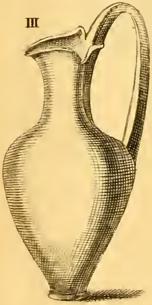

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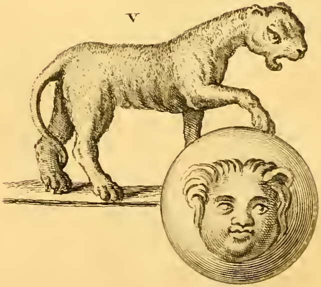

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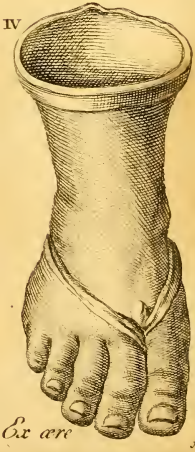

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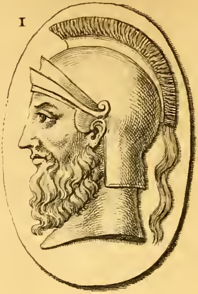

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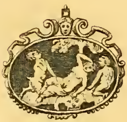

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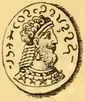

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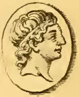

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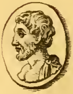

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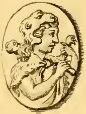

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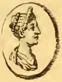

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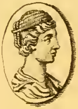

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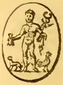

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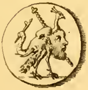

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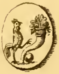

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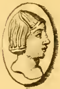

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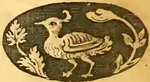

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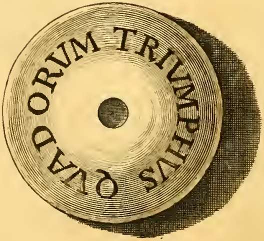
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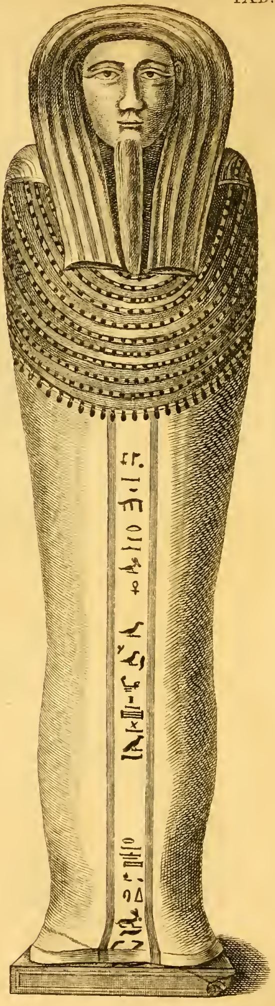
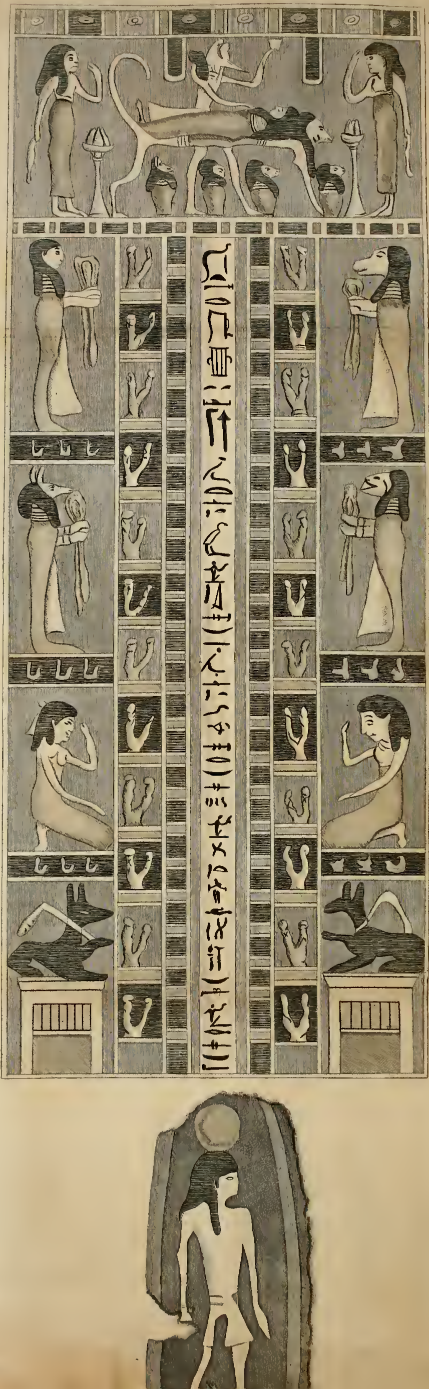
TAB. XXII.





INDEX.

RERUM quæ in his TABULIS deſcriptæ atque in DISSERTATIONIBUS deinde explicatæ ſunt.

In Tabula I.

Pictura antiqua, ex ſepulchri veteris pariete, Romæ exciſa. Ubi de hiſtoriola in ea expreſſa, et de figurarum veſtitu ac deſcriptione, conjecturæ quædam proferuntur. Tum de picturis iſtiuſmodi, in parietum tectorio repertis, earumque origine ac præſtantia, nonnulla generatim diſſeruntur.

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Tab. XV.

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Tab. XVI.

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Tab. XVII.

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XVIII.

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Tab. XIX.

As ad ſextam ejus partem; deinde ad duodecimam, auctoritate publica imminutus; parteſque utriuſque ita imminuti. Ubi imminutiones iſtæ, ex nummorum noſtrorum ſerie hic expoſita, illuſtrantur. Atque alias quoque æris imminutiones, a nemine licet antiquorum memoratas, factas tamen eſſe, arguitur. Tum notæ et ſigna in his nummis impreſſa explicantur. Ac ſingulorum momenta propria indicantur.

Tab. XX.

Pondus antiquum librale, ex ære factum. Item quatuor Unciæ æneæ, earumque partes nonnullæ. Ubi de Romanorum veterum ponderibus, auctoritate publica conſtitutis, ac de ſignis in eis inſculptis, pauca quædam dicuntur: ac ſingulorum momenta demonſtrantur. II. Aquilæ Imaguncula ænea, baſi impoſita. Ubi de Aquilis legionum et cohortium, quæ magna religione coli ſolebant, diſſeritur; atque Aquilam item noſtram ad cultum quendam divinum, vel domi vel militiæ, conſecratam olim eſſe, declaratur. III. Guttus antiquus ex ære. Ubi vaſculi iſtius uſus, ad olea ſcilicet atque unguenta pretioſa, cum in balneis, tum in ſacris, guttatim fundenda, demonſtratur. IV. Pes æneus votivus. Ubi de pedum imaginibus, ex voto Deorum alicui in templo ejus dicatis, a navigantibus præſertim, ſeu pedibus etiam ex morbo aliquo laborantibus, diſſeritur. Quam quidem ſuperſtitionem, hodie etiam Romæ, perinde ac in urbe antiqua, vigere, confirmatur. V. Tigridis Imago ænea, de cujus tamen uſu nihil certi ſtatui poteſt.

Tab. XXI.

Gemmarum ſeries; in quibus imagines variæ, antiquo opere cælatæ aut exſculptæ ſunt. I. Imago Byzantis Herois, urbis Byzantii conditoris. II. Hermaphroditi ad arborem alligati; cujus ad caput Faunus, ad pedes Satyrus aſſidet. III. Regis cujuſdam Parthorum. IV. Pruſiæ, Regis Bithyniæ. V. Sexti Chæronenſis, Plutarchi nepotis. VI. Omphales, Herculis inſignibus inſtructæ. VII. Matidiæ Auguſtæ. VIII. Fauſtinæ ſenioris. IX. Mercurii, ſymbolis ſuis omnibus inſtructi. X. Imagines variæ, ſymbolico quodam ſignificatu, inter ſeſe commixtæ: videlicet, Socratis, Pavonis, Elephantis et Sceptri. XI. Galli Gallinacei; et Cornu-copiæ, quod e globulo quaſi exſurgere videtur. XII. Mulieris, ſive Deæ cujuſdam Ægyptiæ. XIII. Avis Ægyptiæ ſive Ibidis. XIV. Lapis denique Chalcedonius, rotundus et globi dimidiati inſtar, ex altera parte planus, ex altera convexus; cui litteris quadratis inſcribitur. TRIUMPHUS QUADORUM —— Quæ quidem omnia, quatenus explicatione aliqua egere videantur, ordine illuſtrata ſunt.

Tab. XXII.

Mumia Ægyptia, a viro nobili Georgio Townſhend, Academiæ Cantabrigienſi donata. Ubi de loculis præſertim, thecisve ligneis, in quibus cadavera Ægyptiorum more condita, repoſita erant, diſſeritur: atque ex eorum forma et pingendi modo, et ſculpturæ et picturæ primordia ad Græcos traducta eſſe, conjicitur. Deinde ex putrido Mumiæ noſtræ ſtatu, Ægyptiorum veterum vanitas arguitur, qui hoc condiendi ritu, ſe corporibus etiam ſuis immortalitatem quaſi daturos eſſe credebant. Tum hanc cadaverum condituram, non tanto aromatum apparatu, tantoque ſumptu, quanto fieri ſolere traditur, revera effectam fuiſſe, ex Mumiæ noſtræ reliquiis, ceterarumque omnium, quæ a peregrinantibus deſcriptæ ſunt, demonſtratur.

Tab. XXIII.

Integumenti Mumiæ exterioris particula, pictis Deorum imaginibus ornata. Ubi picturarum earum deſcriptio quædam datur: quarum quidem nonnullæ, hanc cadavera condiendi artem, Ægyptiis olim divinitus datam eſſe, ſignificant; item lapidis ejus Æthiopici, quem cultelli loco, in cadavere ſecando, adhibebant, formam exhibent; atque Deorum etiam eorum effigies, qui Averrunci præcipue, ſeu malorum propulſatores habebantur; quibuſque cadaveris potiſſimum tutelam commendare ſolerent.

DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ

QUIBUS

MONUMENTA

In Tabulas Superiores diſtributa Ordine ſingula explicantur.

TABULA I.

PICTURAM hanc antiquam, ex Sepulchri cujuſdam parietibus, una cum ipſo parietum tectorio, exciſam, Roma mecum in Angliam advexi. Picturæ enim veteris reliquias, et majores eas quidem quam expectâram, cum in Principum palatiis, tum in privatorum ædibus, ibi adhuc extantes vidi: quæ in Sepulchrorum ſcilicet Balneorumve cameris ſubterraneis olim depictæ, atque ædificiorum deinde ſuperiorum ruinis oppreſſæ, et ab omni adeo humore, aeriſque acceſſu conſervatæ, uſque ad hanc ætatem illæſæ, atque integræ ſæpe reperiuntur: neque citius tamen reperiri, quam ab hominibus curioſis abripi, et quantum tectorii natura patitur, ad ædes proprias ornandas deportari ſolent.

Etenim tectoria iſta antiqua, picturæ præſertim excipiendæ deſtinata, ſumma ſemper diligentia, atque artificio elaborata eſſe, conſtat; et tempore ipſo ac ſenecta uſque eo induruiſſe,

ut

ut vel marmoris firmitatem acquirerent. [a] Horum igitur particulas, imaginibus pictis ornatas, homines in his rebus intelligentes, e parietibus facile exſcindere, atque, ipſorum quidem veterum exemplo, in alia loca amovere didicerunt. Quippe Græciam olim a Romanis, perinde ac Romam hodie ab exteris, ſpoliari ſolere, *opuſque hoc tectorium lateritiis parietibus exciſum, et ligneis formis incluſum, propter excellentiam picturæ, a Varrone et Muræna, ad Comitium in Ædilitate ſua exornandum, Lacedæmone Romam deportatum eſſe*, legimus. [b] At vero picturam noſtram, ex eo genere primam atque unicam ſane eſſe arbitror, quæ in Angliam unquam advecta eſſet; donec Meadius noſter, Artis Medicæ decus, qui vitæ revera nobilis, vel principibus in republica viris, exemplum præbet, pro eo, quo omnibus fere præſtat, artium veterum amore, alias poſtea quaſdam, et ſplendidiores, opinor, Roma quoque deportandas curavit.

Picturæ hujus figuras quod attinet; ex altera ejus parte, Deum quendam fluviatilem, eo plane habitu jacentem cernimus, quo fluviorum Deos, vel in marmoribus fictos, vel ab auctoribus antiquis deſcriptos accepimus; *comatum* nempe *barbatumque*; *crines arundine, ſeu herba aliqua fluvio propria redimitum*; *humi recumbentem*; *atque in urnam, unde amnis largiter profluit, cubito innixum* [c].

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[a] *Totum in eo eſt, quod mihi erit curæ, tectorium ut concinnum ſit.* Cic. Epiſt. ad Frat. l. 3. 1. § 1. vid. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 36. c. 23.

[b] Plin. ib. l. 35. 14.

[c] Fluvios omnes navigabiles, qui in mare decurrunt, ſenili plerumque forma fingi ſolitos docet Vir clariſs. J. Vaillant in Græcis Imperator. Numiſmat.—Philoſtratus fluvios nunquam erigi ſolere ſcribit. (Icon. l. 2. c. 14.) Et de *Phaſidis fluvii* imagine loquens, *vides*, inquit, *fluvium ipſum arundine in alta, tetrico vultu jacentem, coma denſa, et erecta, barba ſubhorrida, oculis cæſiis*. Philoſtr. Jun. Icon. 8.

Lævus arundineæ recubanſque ſub aggere ripæ
Cernitur, emiſſæque indulgens Inachus urnæ[d].

Ex altera parte, viri duo diſcincti, ſub arbore in eadem ſella ſibi invicem aſſident; juxta quos mulier aſtat, et geſtu, vultuque hilari, coronam quandam floream capiti ſuo imponit. Hujus ad ſiniſtram puer tunicatus, et ad genua ſuccinctus, e poculo bibere, et virorum alteri propinare videtur; qui poculum item manu tenet, quaſi mox bibiturus. Hæ quatuor figuræ ſeorſim paullulum a ceteris poſitæ, inter ſeſe colloquentes et compotantes deſcribuntur; quas verſus, alia quoque mulier accedit, floribus coronata, et caniſtrum ſimul floribus plenum in capite geſtans, greſſuſque baculo quodam agreſti quaſi ſub onere firmans[e]. Summa denique tabellæ pars fruticis cujuſdam floriferi ramulis decoratur, quorum e medio caput juvenile, ex opere ipſo tectorio effictum, atque alarum ſpecie quadam inſtructum, extra reliquam picturæ ſuperficiem prominet.

Quinetiam figurarum harum veſtitus quiddam notatu dignum præbere videtur, ejuſque omnino generis eſſe, quo Matronas olim Romanas ornatas legimus, quibus

Ad talos ſtola demiſſa, ac circumdata Palla[f].

quippe ſtola nihil aliud erat, ac tunica clauſa et talaris, zona plerumque cincta, et manicis inſtructa, quæ vel ad cubitum, vel, quod in hac pictura videmus, ad manus uſque pertingebant. Palla quoque nihil aliud erat ac Pallium, quod tunicæ ſuperinduere, et vel apertum geſtare, vel in ſinus varios colligere ac complicare ſolebant, quodque et Pallæ et Pallii nomine promiſcue appellabant[g].

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[d] Stat. Thebaid. 6. 274. ib. 2. 218.

[e] Hanc eandem baculi formam in aliis antiquorum picturis, et mulieris pariter in manu caniſtrum florum geſtantis, animadverti. vid. *Pieces of Antient Painting*, by G. Turnbull, N° 36.

[f] Hor. Sat. l. 1. 2. 99.

Mulierum altera, Pallio viridi ſeu oleagino, altera violaceo, utraque vero tunica rubra induta eſt: Quippe ad veſtium muliebrium ornatum, omnigenos colores pro libitu adhiberi ſolitos conſtat; de quibus Ovidius;

Hic undas imitatus, habet quoque nomen ab undis:
Crediderim Nymphas hac ego veſte tegi.
Ille crocum ſimulat, croceo velatur amictu,
Roſcida luciferos cum Dea jungit equos.
Hic Paphias myrtos, hic purpureas Amethyſtos
Albenteſve roſas, Threiciamve gruem, &c.[h]

Virorum figuræ, partim ſeminudæ, partim tunicatæ apparent: Eo nimirum habitu, quo extra urbem in villis ſuis otiari conſueverunt. Horum alteri Toga ſive Lacerna cærulea, alteri rubra, tunicæ vero utriſque croceæ dantur. Etenim ruri ſemper fere lacernam induebant; veſtem ſcilicet apertam, atque humero tantum aut pectore fibula nexam: quæ cum Toga contractior, leviorque, et cucullo plerumque contra pluviam munita eſſet, [i] in Togæ penitus vicem, tam intra quam extra urbem, Cæſarum demum temporibus, ceſſiſſe traditur. Colores ei quidem varios, ſed omnium maxime rubrum, a Scriptoribus tributum invenimus,

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[g] Palla, *honeſtæ mulieris veſtimentum, et tunicæ Pallium.* Non. de Sermon. propriet. c. 14.
Pallia, ſi terræ nimium demiſſa jacebunt,
Collige et immunda ſedulus effer humo.
Ov. Art. am. i. 153.
Et tegit auratos Palla ſuperba pedes.
Id. Amor. 3. 13.

[h] Ovid. de art. Amand. l. 3 177.
Quot nova terra parit flores, cum vere tepenti
Vitis agit gemmas, pigraque cedit hyems,
Lana tot aut plures ſuccos bibit—Ibid.

Phaſis purpureis ruber lacernis. [k]
Criſpinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas. [l]

Sed de Figurarum deſcriptione hactenus; ad earum jam interpretationem progrediamur: in qua quidem me plane hærere, neque certi aliquid aut explicati habere, fateor. Quum picturarum tamen harum interpretibus, item ac pictoribus ipſis, quidlibet audendi licentiam dari animadverterim, mihi quoque cæterorum exemplo, conandum eſſe ſtatui, an e re dubia atque obſcura, veriſimile demum aliquid conjectura elicere queam.

Quamobrem Dei fluviatilis imagine, Tyberim, ſive Deum Tyberinum denotari conjicio [m]; quem eodem fere modo in marmoribus, ac numiſmatibus antiquis perſæpe exſculptum cernimus, ut hiſtoriam videlicet, actionemve a ſculptore expreſſam, prope fluvium iſtum accidiſſe ſignificaretur.[n] Atque hinc intelligere licet, picturæ noſtræ ſcenam ad Tyberis ripas poſitam eſſe; hominesque iſtos, qui coronati ac potantes pinguntur, diem aliquem feſtum celebrare; quem Romani olim juxta Tyberim, cum conjugibus et liberis hilariter agere ſolerent. Hujuſmodi vero feſtum, Annæ Perennæ, idibus Martiis dicatum reperio: In quo populum ad Tyberis ripas, genio indulſiſſe, ac potu præſertim largiori, vitam ſibi perennem auſpicatum eſſe, memoriæ proditum eſt. *Menſe Martio*, inquit Macrobius, et publice et privatim ad *Annam Perennam ſacrificatum itur, ut annare et perennare commode liceat:*[o] hoc eſt, ut et annum præſentem et venturos omnes perenni ac perpetua felicitate tranſigerent. De hoc etiam Feſto Ovidius,

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[i] —Turpis, odoratum caput obſcurante
lacerna. *Hor. S.* 2. 7. 55.
Si poſſem totas cuperem miſiſſe lacernas,
Nunc tantum capiti munera mitto
tuo. *Mart. Ep.* 14. 132.

Ex quo Martialis loco lacernarum cucullos a lacernis ipſis ſeparari interdum ſolere, Octavius Ferrarius oſtendit. De re Veſtiar. Par. 2. l. 1. c. 20.

[k] Mart. Epig. 5. 8.

[l] Juv. Sat. 1. 27. Hinc poſterioribus ſeculis Lacerna, a rubro colore, Byrrhus appellari cœpit. *Byrrhus,* inquit *Iſidòrus, a Græco vocabulum trahit. Illi enim eum Burrum, id eſt,* ϖυῤῥὸν *vocant,* l. 19. c. 24. Vid. Octav. Ferr. ib. c. 26.

[m] Hunc in ſacris Tyberinum, in communi ſermone Tyberim, in poemate Tybrim vocari Servius declarat, quem Virgilius ita deſcribit.

Huic Deus ipſe loci fluvio Tyberinus amœno
Populeas inter ſenior ſe attollere frondes
Viſus: Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
Carbaſus, et crines umbroſa tegebat arundo. Æn. 8. 31.

Idibus eſt Annæ feſtum geniale Perennæ
Haud procul a ripis, advena Tybri, tuis.
Plebs venit, ac virides paſſim disjecta per herbas
Potat, et accumbit cum pare quiſque ſua.

Sole tamen vinoque calent, annoſque precantur,
Quot ſumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt. &c.[p]

Jam vero Feſti hujus celebratio, cum figurarum noſtrarum deſcriptione ſatis apte congruit; in qua ſenes, mulieres, pueroſque ad Tyberis ripas, floribus coronatos, potantes, diemque genialiter ſumentes cernimus[q]. Ubi arbores item rem extra urbem,

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[n] Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. par. 1. l. 5. c. 7. Tab. 35. it. Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 5. c. 2. Tab. 26.

[o] Saturn 1. c. 12.

[p] Faſtor. 3. 523.

[q] Omnes, qui dies feſtos agunt, poculiſque operam dant, eodem fere habitu a Poetis deſcribuntur—

potare et ſpargere flores
Incipiam ——— — Hor. Ep. I. 1. 5.

Sed varii flores, et frons redimita corymbis,
Fuſa ſed ad teneros, lutea palla pedes.
Tibul. 1. 7.

Bacchus

urbem, ac verno potiſſimum tempore agi, declarant. Caputque iſtud juvenile, quod e ſuperna picturæ parte eminet, Genium fortaſſe loci indicat, hilaritatis hujus fautorem, ejuſque quaſi conſpectu ſeſe oblectantem. Sed nodus adhuc quidam reſtat; quippe virorum alteri tempora, vitta ſeu diademate cincta apparent, quod quidem Deorum ſolummodo, Imperatorum, Regumve olim inſigne fuiſſe cognovimus. At vero in feſtis hujuſmodi genialibus, quæ potu præſertim atque omni hilaritatis genere ſumebantur, quidni cum ſertis florumque coronis, faſcias etiam haſce aut diademata pro libitu, ac per ludum jocumque ſumi ſolere credamus? Iſtud vero utcunque fuerit, hoc ſaltem certiſſimum eſt, in picturis hujuſmodi, ſculpturiſque ſepulchralibus, Feſtos Deorum dies, Bacchantium ritus, ludoſque eos deſcribi ſolitos, quibus defuncti, cum viverent, delectati potiſſimum fuiſſent. . . . .

Hæc autem rei explicandæ ratio, quia nonnullis fortaſſe minus ſatisfactura ſit, aliam quoque ei adjungere libuit, ut lectori demum optionem aliquam judiciumque relinquam.

Quum picturas igitur haſce ſepulchrales, præter argumenta iſta modo memorata, Sepulchrorum etiam ritus, mortuorumque apud inferos ſtatum, ac vitæ degendæ conditionem ſæpiſſime exhibere vidiſſem, ſubiit ſtatim dubitatio, annon pictura noſtra defunctorum potius in campis Elyſiis vitam beatam atque hilarem, hac figurarum deſcriptione, adumbrare poſſet.

> *Bacchus amat flores; Baccho placuiſſe coronam,*
> *Ex Ariadnæo ſidere noſſe potes.*
> Ov. Faſt. 5. 339.

Neque coronas iſtas domi tantum atque inter potandum geſtari ſolitas, ſed coronatos etiam ebrios prodiiſſe atque in plateis verſatos eſſe legimus.

> *Quid, tu, ego video?*
> PS. *Cum corona ebrium Pſeudolum tuum.*
> Plaut. Pſeud. Ac. 5. 2.

Nam in beatorum iſtorum deliciis, enumerantur præcipue a Veteribus, *fontes aquis limpidis ſcatentes*; *prata floribus nitentia*; *Philoſophorum Scholæ*; *Poetarum chori*; *Muſicorum cantus*; *compotationes denique, dapeſque ſeſe ultro offerentes*[r]. Muſæus autem, ac ſi ebrietatem optimum virtutis præmium exiſtimaſſet, *beatos illos ad menſam accumbentes, et coronatos convivia celebrantes aſſiduiſque compotationibus ſeſe oblectantes* facere ſolitus dicitur[f]. Neque aliter fere Virgilius locos iſtos lætos, et amœna vireta, beatorumque ibi ſtudia depingit.

Conſpicit ecce alios dextra lævaque per herbam
Veſcentes, lætumque choro pæana canentes,
Inter odoratum lauri nemus; unde ſuperne
Plurimus Eridani per ſylvam volvitur amnis.

. . . .

Nulli certa domus, lucis habitamus opacis,
Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis
Incolimus[t] ——

qui vitæ vero caſtitate, armis, artibus, beneficiiſve patriam auxiſſent, his omnibus vittæ ſeu diadematis honorem tributum dicit,

Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta[v].

Atque hic pariter omnia cum picturæ noſtræ interpretatione convenire, eandemque fere vitæ degendæ rationem, a Pictore atque a Poeta deſcriptam videmus; hominum ſcilicet floribus vittiſque coronatorum, et compotationibus ſeſe colloquiiſque ju-

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[r] Vid. Plato. in Axioch. Vol. 3. p. 371.

[f] Ibid. de Rep. l. 2. p. 363.

[t] Æneid. 6. 656. it. 673.

[v] Ibid. 665.

jucundis ad fluviorum ripas oblectantium. De duabus autem hiſce conjecturis utra tandem veriſimilior fuerit, non meum eſt dijudicare: Hoc tantum polliceri licet, ſiquis rectius aliquid invenerit, me illud, quicquid erit, libenter amplexurum.

Sed antequam hanc noſtram diſſertatiunculam concludamus, non nihil etiam de picturæ ipſius pulchritudine, ac pingendi artificio dicendum reſtat: In quo quidem genere hoc univerſe ſtatuendum arbitror; picturas nimirum, in parietum tectoriis repertas, a præclaris licet artificibus confectas, non ea tamen diligentia, aut arte elaboratas fuiſſe, ac reliqua eorundem opera in tabulis ſingulis depicta. Etenim tectorii natura, tantis cum ruinarum tum incendiorum caſibus obnoxia, haud ullam famæ diuturnitatem, qua artes omnes maxime aluntur, pictori præſtare poterat: *Nulla* igitur, ut Plinius ait, *in tectoriis, Apellis pictura erat*; *nec parietes iis temporibus pingere libebat*; *nec ulla artificum gloria, niſi eorum, qui tabulas pinxere*[x]. Quum vero tabulæ contra ex incendiis rapi, de loco in locum deportari, artificumque adeo famam per urbes genteſque propagare poſſent, in his omnem artis ſuæ vim atque induſtriam ponendam eſſe cenſuerunt; neque aliud fere in parietibus pingendis curaſſe videntur, quam ut pictura coloribus ſatis pulchre niteſceret, utque figuræ primariæ ad naturæ ſimilitudinem exprimerentur; atque eo geſtu habituque, qui perſonæ et actioni, quam exprimendam ſumpſiſſent, accommodatus eſſet; de ſingulis interea figurarum membris, partibuſquæ picturæ obſcurioribus parum ſoliciti, nonniſi veloci manu ac penicillo levi iſtiuſmodi omnia abſolvere ſolebant.

In hoc igitur genere, picturam noſtram inter elegantiores numerandam eſſe arbitror: in qua figuræ ſatis apte diſpoſitæ, pulchræ coloratæ, nec ſine juſta partium proportione delineatæ apparent. Haud ei tamen certam aliquam ætatem præfinire auſim, ſed hoc tantum affirmare, eam ante Conſtantini ævum depictam eſſe: quo quidem regnante, artes omnes elegantiores jacuiſſe liquet: uti cum ex aliis eorum temporum monumentis, tum ex celebri præſertim Principis iſtius Arcu, perſpicuum eſt; quem ob ſculptorum bonorum inopiam, ex Arcus Trajani ſpoliis fabricatum, figuriſque inde deſumptis ornatum eſſe cognovimus: quum figuræ contra iſtæ, quæ ad Conſtantini geſta illuſtranda, ea ætate ſculptæ, atque in eodem arcu poſitæ erant, ita inconcinnæ ac deformes ſint, ut omnem artis ejus gloriam tunc temporis periiſſe oſtendant.

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[x] Hiſt. N. l. 35. c. 9.

At vero longe ſecus, ac antiqui iſti Pictores cogitaverint, rem tandem eveniſſe videmus. Etenim quum præſtantiſſima quæque eorum opera, in tabulis ſingulis depicta, vetuſtate jamdiu abſumpta, ac penitus deleta ſint, hæ tamen debiliores parietum picturæ, vel ipſis ædium ruinis munitæ, atque ab omni damno conſervatæ, uſque ad noſtra tempora permanſerunt.

Ex his autem picturæ veteris reliquiis, nonnulli de artis ipſius dignitate temere nimis judicantes, eam ad ſculpturæ antiquæ perfectionem nequaquam perveniſſe contendunt. Sed ex arctiſſima artium harum conjunctione, ambas paſſibus ſemper æquis ad perfectionem ſuam progreſſas eſſe conſtat; hoc tantum diſcrimine, quod ex diverſa utriuſque natura ac materia accidere neceſſe erat, ut picturæ nimirum vel optima quæque exemplaria, propter rei ipſius fragilitatem cito peritura, Sculpturæ vero contra, propter materiæ duritiem, in omne fere ævum duratura eſſent.

TABULA II.

HÆC Imaguncula Muliebris, porcellum dextra, et infantulum ſiniſtra geſtans, ſacrum aliquod ſolenne, ob liberos natos a veteribus fieri ſolitum, adumbrare videtur. Varios enim hujus generis ritus, a ſcriptoribus antiquis traditos accepimus, quos e Græcia fere omnes Romam manaſſe conſtat.

Infans ſimul ac natus, in terram, tanquam communem omnium parentem, ab obſtetrice nudus abjiciebatur. Natura, inquit Plinius, *hominem nudum, in nuda humo, natali die abjicit, ad vagitus ſtatim et ploratum* [y].

> *Tactaque naſcenti corpus haberet humus* [z].

Hoc terræ contactu, vox naſcentibus dari credebatur; *Maiamque Mercurii matrem, eandem ac terram eſſe, Fatuamque a fando appellari Macrobius* ſcribit, *quod infantes partu editi non prius vocem edunt, quam attigerint terram* [a].

Puerum autem in terram abjectum, ſi parentes alere decreviſſent, quod non ſine conſultatione quadam et deliberatione feciſſe videntur, ab humo pater tollere ſolebat.

> *Quicquid peperiſſent, decreverunt tollere* [b].

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[y] Hiſt. Nat. Præf. ad lib. 7. Atque ſolum iſtud, quod Auguſtus naſcens primum attigiſſet, conſecratum poſtea fuiſſe diſcimus. Sueton. in Aug. c. 5.

[z] Ovid. Triſt. l. 4. 3.

[a] Saturn. 1. 12.

[b] Ter. And. 1. 3. 14.

Conſulti ſunt, inquit Seneca, *de nobis parentes noſtri, qui cum conditionem vitæ noſcerent, in hanc nos ſuſtulerunt* [c]. Hinc deam quandam Levanam, liberos levandi auctricem atque præſidem, Romæ olim extitiſſe legimus [d].

Infantulum dein luſtrandi, ſacriſque initiandi ſolennitas, quinto poſt partum die, celebrata fuit.

> *Quin Diis ſacrificare hodie pro puero volo,*
> *Quinto die quod facere oportet* [e].

Hic ritus ἀμφιδρόμια a Græcis dicitur, quia puer ſcilicet circa focum, quem Deorum domeſticorum ſedem propriam eſſe putabant [f], ab obſtetrice, celeri curſu circumferebatur [g]. Ex qua pueri circumferendi conſuetudine, verbum ipſum *circumferre*, eandem apud veteres ſignificationem obtinuiſſe invenimus, ac purgare ſeu luſtrare;

> *Idem ter ſocios pura circumtulit unda* [h].
> *Quæſo quin tu iſtanc jubes*
> *pro Cerrita circumferri*—[i]

Atque hinc quoque verbum, *luſtrare*, in eodem plane ſenſu, ac circumire, uſurpatum eſt.

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[c] De conſolat. ad Marc. c. 18.

[d] Auguſt. de Civ. D. iv. xi.

[e] Plaut. Truc. 2. 4.

[f] Vid. Platon. de legib. l. 12. Oper. T. 2. p. 955. Edit. Hen. Steph. Quem quidem locum Cicero iter interpretatur; *Terra igitur, ut Focus, domicilium ſacrum omnium Deorum eſt*. De Legib. l. 2. 18.

[g] Ritus hujus ratio a Socrate apud Platonem indicatur: ut Parentes ſcilicet, quinto poſt partum die periculum facerent, conſiliumque de novo caperent, an puer corpore ſatis valido ſanoque eſſet; dignuſque omnino qui tolleretur. in Theæt. Oper. T. 1. p. 160. De hoc etiam ritu Suidas, in voce Ἀμφιδρόμια, quintum, inquit, ab infantibus natis diem celebrant; quo die manus purgant obſtetrices, et propinqui dona mittunt, polypedas plerumque et ſæpias; deinde decimo die Infanti nomen imponunt.

[h] Virg. Æn. 6. 229.

[i] Plaut. Amphit. 2. 2. 144.

——*Ter totum fervidus ira*
Luſtrat Aventini montem[k].

Luſtrandi ritu confecto, nomina deinde infantibus, ſolenni modo cum ſacrificiis epuliſque, apud Græcos, die decimo imponebantur.

Εἰς δεκάτην γάρ ποτε παιδαρίου κληθεὶς ὑπέπινον ἐν ἄστει[l].

Nam ad decimum pueri diem olim vocatus cenavi in urbe ubi Scholiaſtes decimum diem ob liberos natos conviviis ſumi ſolitum dicit, atque eodem die nomina eis imponi. Quod ab Euripide etiam confirmatur.

— — — τίς σε, μᾶτερ, ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκου
ὠνόμασε ——[m]

Quis tibi, mater, decimo poſt partum die,
nomen impoſuit———

Hæc autem ſacra per obſtetricem plerumque facta eſſe videntur; quippe Electræ matrem Clytemneſtram roganti, ut pro filio ſibi nato, ſuo nomine die decimo ſacrificaret, mater reſpondit

Ἄλλης τοδ᾽ ἔργον ἥ σ᾽ ἔλυσεν ἐκ τόκων[n].——

Alterius hoc munus eſt, quæ te partu levavit.

At vero Romæ rem paullo aliter tranſactam eſſe, infantiumque

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[k] Virg. Æn. 8. 230. vid. item Non. Marcell. c. 4. in luſtrare.

[l] Ariſtoph. Avib. 494.

[m] Eurip. Fragm. in Ægeus.

[n] Id. Electr. 1128.

que luſtrationem et nominum impoſitionem eodem die celebratas invenimus. *Nundina*, inquit Macrobius, *Romanorum Dea, a nono naſcentium die nuncupatur, qui Luſtricus dicitur, eſt autem dies luſtricus, quo infantes luſtrantur et nomen accipiunt: is maribus nonus eſt, octavus feminis* [o]. Atque hinc Caligula, ut Suetonius ait, Neroni infantulo, nomen Claudii patrui ſui, die luſtrico per jocum impoſuit [p]. Hoc luſtrandi ritu ad Deorum altaria peracto, amicisque et cognatis ad convivium adhibitis, nomina deinde domi impoſita eſſe videntur; in quibus numerus vocalium, par aut impar, ad morbos quoſdam pellendos valuiſſe credebatur [q].

Ex hac vero nominalium, uti vocabatur, ſolennitate [r], Sanctus Chryſoſtomus ridiculas quaſdam cæremonias in Eccleſiam Chriſti traductas eſſe queritur. "Cum puerum, inquit, nominandi dies advenerit, a ſanctorum aliquo nomen mutuari, quod a veteribus fieri ſolebat, haud dignantes, lumina accendunt, ſinguliſque nomina imponunt, ejuſque, quod cæteris diutius perduraverit, nomen puero imponendum arripiunt, tanquam vitæ longævæ augurium [ſ]."

Romani denique liberorum ſuorum nomina ad Præfectos ærarii deferebant, publicis actis inferenda, addito die et Conſule, quo ætas eorum poſtea, ingenuitaſque dignoſci poterant.

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[o] Saturn. 1. 16. it. Pomp. Feſt. in Luſtricus.

[p] In Neron. c. 5. De hac Diei luſtrici pueris puelliſque aſſignati differentia, quæſtionem inſtituit Plutarchus, cauſamque reddere conatur. Quæſt. Rom. 99.

[q] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 28. c. 4.

[r] Tertull. de Idol. c. 16.

[ſ] Hom. 12. in Epiſt. 1. ad Cor. Oper. T. x. p. 107. Edit. Benedict.——alios item ritus quoſdam, ad infantium curam ſpectantes, atque a gentilibus deductos, Chryſoſtomus commemorat; de quibus ita demum cum Chriſtianis ſuis expoſtulat: *Quod apud Græcos quidem talia fiant, nihil ſane mirum eſt; quod autem apud eos, qui crucem adorant, ac myſteriorum ineffabilium participes ſunt, et tam ſublimem philoſophiam perſequuntur, tantum dedecus invaluerit, multis certe lacrymis deflendum eſt.* Ibid.

Tollis enim, et libris actorum ſpargere gaudes
Argumenta viri [t]. ——

Sed ad Icunculam noſtram redeamus; quam Perſius quodammodo deſcribere videtur, dum in ſuperſtitioſos hoſce luſtrandi ritus, atque inepta mulierum vota, pro liberis die luſtrico ſuſcepta, invehitur.

Ecce Avia aut metuens Divûm Matertera cunis
Exemit puerum, frontemque atque uda labella
Infami digito, et luſtralibus ante ſalivis
Expiat, urentes oculos inhibere perita.
Tunc manibus quatit; &c. [u].

Pueruli hujus figura, caputque a capillis nudum, ac corpus ligamento quodam, tanquam vinculo, conſtrictum [x], uti paucorum admodum dierum ætatem denotant, ita hunc luſtrandi ritum prorſus indicare videntur. Quippe porcum in luſtrationibus fere omnibus, atque in Cereris præſertim ſacris, adhibitum eſſe liquet [y].

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[t] —Juv. Sat. 9. 84.

[u] Sat. 2. 31. Saliva olim, ad faſcinationes, contagia, morboſque pellendos, mirificam quandam vim habuiſſe putabatur. [Vid. Plin. l. 28. 4.] Sed in his infantium luſtrationibus, non meram eam quidam habuiſſe videntur, ſed luto ſeu pulvere commixtam. *Lutum*, inquit Chryſoſtomus, *in balneo accipientes nutrices et ancillæ, digito tingentes, in pueri fronte imprimunt. Quid ſibi vult lutum; quid cænum? Malum avertit oculum, inquiunt, livorem, et invidiam.* Vid. Ibid.

[x] Ab hoc lucis rudimento hominem vincula excipiunt, et omnium membrorum nexus, &c. *Plin. Proœm. in lib. 7.*

[y] Ab Suillo genere pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum videtur: cujus veſtigia, quod initiis Cereris porci immolantur. *Varr. de re ruſt. l. 2. c. 4.*

'Ες χοιρίδιόν μοι νῦν δάνεισον τρεῖς δράχμας,
Δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναί με, πρὶν τεθνηκέναι[z].
Da mihi mutuo tres drachmas, ut porcellum emam,
Nam initiari me oportet, antequam mori.

Ex quo conjicere licet, ad quem potiſſimum Deorum hic infantulus a muliere initiandus defertur: quippe ex omni cœleſtium claſſe, Parentes Deum ſibi aliquem pro arbitrio ſeligere conſueverunt, cui ſeſe liberoſque ſuos præcipue commendare, atque in tutelam quaſi tradere poſſent. Hinc Caligula infantem ſibi natam, *Liviam Druſillam, per omnium Dearum templa circumtuliſſe, et Minervæ gremio impoſuiſſe, eique alendam et inſtituendam commendaſſe,* traditur[a]. At vero porcus quem mulier dextra tenet, infantulum noſtrum Cereri ſane dicatum eſſe oſtendit: porcum enim Cereri tanquam proprium, a veteribus tributum cognovimus.

Prima Ceres avidæ gaviſa eſt ſanguine porcæ,
Ulta ſuas merita cæde nocentis opes[b].
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant[c].

In numiſmatibus idcirco antiquis, ſuem interdum vel porcum ad Cereris imaginem, tanquam ſymbolum, adjunctum videmus[d]: et in vaſe quodam apud Montfauconium. Cereris effigies exſculpta apparet, atque ex adverſo mulieris, dextra porcum ferentis, quaſi Cereri immolandum[e].

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[z] Ariſtoph. in Pace. v. 373.

[a] Sueton. in C. Cal. c. 25.

[b] Ov. Faſt. 1. 143.

[c] Hor. Epod. 2. 1.

[d] Vid. Fulv. Urſin. in Famil. Vibia.

[e] Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 1. p. 113. Fig. 1. In veteri quadam Inſcriptione, T. Baſilius *Porcam Deæ Cereri quotannis mactandam,* epulumque dandum ex teſtamento legaſſe dicitur. *Vid. Bonifac. de Epitaph. compend. p.* 95.

Neque illud item prætermittendum, quod hæc Imaguncula in agro Neapolitano reperta fuerit; ea nimirum Italiæ parte, quæ a Græcis olim poſſeſſa, et magna Græcia vocata eſt; atque unde hæc ipſa Cereris religio Romam traducta eſſe dicitur: in qua quidem urbe ſimulachrum ejus, omnium primum ex ære factum, ac ſumma deinceps veneratione cultum accepimus[f]. Hinc in marmoribus antiquis Cererem Orcilianam, ac Organianam, memoratam legimus; a familiis quibuſdam Romanis, cultui ejus addictis, ita nominatam[g]. Quinetiam inter Sculpturæ veteris reliquias, effigiem quandam Cereris animadverti, cujus in ſinu infantuli duo recumbentes finguntur; ad ſingularem iſtam infantium curam denotandam, propter quam *κȣροτρόφος* et *παιδοτρόφος*, hoc eſt, puerorum altrix, ab antiquis appellatur[h].

Quod interpretationem autem noſtram maxime confirmat, hæc Cereris ſacra per mulieres ſemper curata erant.

Feſta piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres[i].

Aditus in id Sacrarium, inquit Cicero, *non eſt viris, ſacra per mulieres et virgines confici*[k]. *Et ne vetuſti ritus perita deeſſet Antiſtes, Græcam Sacerdotem, quæ ſacrum illud monſtraret et faceret, e Græciæ magnæ urbibus, Neapoli aut Velia, Romanos* plerumque accerſere ſolitos declarat[l]. De quibus Deæ hujus ſacerdotibus Græcis, nonnulla adhuc monumenta extant.

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[f] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 34. 4. Vid. it. Cic. Orat. pro Corn. Balbo. 24.

[g] Spon. Miſcell. Erudit. Antiqu. p. 90.

[h] Montfauc. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. x. Beger. Theſaur. Brandeb. V. 1. p. 6. Vid. it. Herodot. in Vit. Homer. p. 569. Edit. Lond.

[i] Ov. Metam. l. x. 431.

[k] In Verr. 4. 45.

CASPONIA. P. F.
MAXIMA
SACERDOS CERERIS
POPULI ROMANI
SICVLA[m].

Icunculæ noſtræ materiem quod attinet; ex ære ſolido conflata eſt; at pigmento quodam albeſcente ab initio, ut videtur, delibuta; quo albam illam puramve, cum ſacrificantium omnium, tum Cereris præſertim ſacra curantium, veſtem indicaret.

Alba decent Cererem, veſtes Cerealibus albas
Sumite[n].

Quod vero nutrices potiſſimum, hoc pueros luſtrandi munus obeuntes, albatæ fuerint, ex Perſii loco diſcimus.

Aſt ego nutrici non mando vota: negato
Jupiter hoc illi, quamvis te albata rogarit[o].

Atque hoc adeo ſimulachrum, mulierum ad Deorum altaria accedentium imaginem iſtam revera exhibet, quam verbis deſcribit Plautus.

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[l] Sacra Cereris ſumma majores noſtri religione confici, cæremoniaque voluerunt: quæ cum eſſent aſſumpta de Græcia, et per Græcas ſemper curata ſunt Sacerdotes—Has ſacerdotes video fere aut Neapolitanas, aut Velienſes fuiſſe —— *Cic. pr. Corn. Balb.* 24.

[m] Gruter. V. 2. p. 308. 4.

[n] Ovid. Faſt. 4. 619.

[o] Sat. 2. 38.

——— *Æquis vos erat*
Candidatas venire, hoſtiataſque ad hoc
Fanum[p].

Brachium præterea dextrum, pedeſque mulieris nudi, peculiarem quendam ſacrificandi ritum indicant; quo quidem habitu in ſculpturis ſæpe antiquis ſacrificantium figuræ cernuntur. Nudis pedibus ſacrificare, apud veteres fere omnes uſurpatum, atque a Judæis ſane acceptum eſſe putatur. Quippe Dæmones, ut Juſtinus Martyr ait, *propter imitationem ejus quod Moſi accidiſſet, cultores ſuos, loca ſacra ingredientes, calceos deponere docuerunt*[q]. Hinc apud Romanos Veſtæ, quæ eadem ac Terra habita eſt[r], non niſi nudo pede ſacra facere licebat.

Huc pede matronam vidi deſcendere nudo[ſ].

Jam vero ſi quærat tandem aliquis, ob quam cauſam, hanc Icunculam olim fictam eſſe putem; dicerem ſane, ex voto pro Infantulo nato Cereri ſuſcepto, eam confectam eſſe, atque in Templo deinde Deæ pro more ſuſpenſam. Etenim Templa fere omnia, cum apud Græcos tum Romanos, iſtiuſmodi donis referta fuiſſe, perſpicuum eſt: quæ maxima ex parte nihil aliud erant, ac ſigilla, ſeu minutæ quædam Deorum, hominumve figuræ, e marmore plerumque aut metallo conflatæ;

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[p] Rud. 1. 5.

[q] Apol. 1. p. 91. Edit. Thirlb.

[r] Rotundam ædem Veſtæ Numa——— conſecraſſe videtur; quod eandem eſſe Terram crediderit, eamque pilæ forma eſſe: ut ſui ſimili templo Dea coleretur.——*Feſtus in Rotunda.*

[ſ] Ovid. Faſt. 6. 397. Virgines ex Sacerdotio Veſtæ nudo pede fugientia ſacra comitantur. Flor. l. 1. c. 13. § 12.

quibus tabella etiam baſisve adjuncta erat, quæ et Deæ et voventis nomen indicare, cauſamque voti exponere ſolebat; quam quidem baſim, in tanta temporis longinquitate, ab imagine noſtra ſejunctam, et deperditam eſſe, haud mirandum eſt.

I. O. M. —— ——[t]
—— TERENTIA. NICE.
—— CVM. TERENTIO. DAMARI
—— ONE. FILIO —— ——
—— SIGNVM. ET. BASIM.
VOTO. SVSCEPTO. DE. SVO. POSVIT.
LVSTRO. EIVSDEM. DAMARIO
NIS.

In tabella quadam figulina, antiqui operis, a viro doctiſſimo, Bonannio, in lucem edita, imaginem cernimus obſtetricis, infantulum gremio foventis, matremque dextra ſuſtinentis; quæ Puerperæ cujuſdam votum eſſe putatur, Junoni Lucinæ ſuſceptum[u]. Quinetiam gemma antiqua a celeberrimo Montfauconio exhibetur, in qua Apollinis effigies inſculpta eſt, una cum muliebri figura, quæ puerulum nudum, in patina quadam, Deo quaſi in manus tradere videtur: quam quidem gemmam votum item fuiſſe, pro puero nato ſuſceptum, harum rerum periti omnes declarant [x]. Ex his igitur veterum monumentis, aliiſque permultis, quæ in eandem ſententiam adduci poſſent, illud ſane, quod modo dixi, veriſimile admodum eſſe videtur; hanç ſcilicet imagunculam, infantis luſtrandi ritum adumbrantem, Cereri olim ex voto donatam fuiſſe.

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[t] Gruter. Vol. 1. 9. 5.
GENIO. DOMNOR. CERERI.
T. POBLICIVS. CRESCENS. LARIBVS.
PVBLICIS. DEDIT. IMAGINES. ARGENT. DVAS.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Marmi D'Orſat. Lett. 1. p. 4.

[u] Vid. Muſæum Kircher. Claſſ. 2. p. 67. Tab. 23. 1.——It. Thomaſin. de Donariis. c. 14.

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[x] Antiq. Vol. 2. par. 1. l. 3. c. 14. Tab. 27. 4.

TABULA

TABULA III.

BULLA hæc aurea, cujus formam et magnitudinem accurate ſatis deſcriptas damus, quum urbis antiquæ ruinis uſque ad hanc ætatem ſepulta jacuiſſet, integra tamen poſt tot ſeculorum decurſum reperta, atque in lucem revocata eſt. Etenim Foſſores quidam, in monumentis veteribus explorandis, marmoribuſque eruendis occupati, dum Mauſolei cujuſdam rudera, juxta viam Præneſtinam, ad quartum ab urbe lapidem, perſcrutantur, in conclave ſubterraneum, picturis ornatum, et pulchre pavimentatum irruperunt[y]. In hoc urnam e marmore nobilem conſpicientes, ejuſque operculum plumbo defixum, nimiſque ponderoſum, quam ut amoveri facile poſſet, confringentes, vaſculum intus ex alabaſtro orientali invenerunt, in quo oſſium combuſtorum reliquiæ, una cum hac Bulla, conditæ erant: ſed vaſculum item ipſum, præ nimia auri reperiendi cupiditate, confregerunt. Atqui hæc ſtatim omnia, Franciſcus Ficcoronius, ſollertiſſimus ille quidem harum rerum inveſtigator, marmoris, vaſculi, et picturarum fragmenta, itemque Bullam ipſam, ab operariis iſtis coemit[z]; quam ex ejus deinde manibus, at pretio tamen haud parum amplificato, redemi, atque in Angliam mecum advexi.

Hanc eandem Bullam, ut Roma rediens Pariſios veneram, celeberrimo, Montfauconio oſtendi : qui me ante euntem benigne admodum exceperat, et quicquid Cœnobii iſtius Bibliotheca inſtructiſſima, vel rerum vel codicum antiquorum, ſingulare eximiumque habuit, id ſumma mihi comitate monſtraverat. Vir autem ille eruditus, Bullæ licet hujus figuram ectypam, a Ficcoronio Roma miſſam viderat, at Bullam tamen ejuſmodi germanam, ſe nunquam antea vidiſſe declaravit.

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[y] Monumenta iſtiuſmodi Sepulchralia, duarum videlicet contignationum, quæ duas cameras, alteram alteri impoſitam, habebant, græco nomine, Diſtæga appellabantur : de quibus in antiquis Inſcriptionibus mentionem factam obſervavi. Gruter. p. 827. 6. it. Spon. Miſcell. p. 291, 292.

[z] Vid. Libellum de hac ipſa Bulla aurea, a Franc. Ficcoronio Italice conſcriptum. p. 6. 4to in Roma. 1732.

Hoc nobile pectoris aurum, ut a Statio vocatur [a], puerorum ingenuorum geſtamen fuiſſe, collo ſuſpenſum, atque in pectus demiſſum, notiſſimum eſt; *ornamentum pueritiæ, indicium atque inſigne fortunæ* [b]. Sed de ejus origine nihil fere certi memoriæ proditum eſt. Plutarchus eam Romulo attribuit; qui ut Sabinas a ſuis raptas conſolaretur, *Bullam et Prætextam earum liberis conceſſiſſe dicitur* [c]. Plinius autem, "a
" Tarquinio Priſco, omnium primo, filium, cum in præ-
" textæ annis occidiſſet hoſtem, Bulla aurea donatum, ſcri-
" bit, moremque inde deductum, ut eorum qui equo meru-
" iſſent filii, inſigne id haberent [d]." Macrobius dein, utraſque has ſententias, item ac alias quaſdam recenſet, ſed vetuſtatis peritiſſimos ad Romulum rem referre declarat [e]. Mihi vero haudquaquam credibile videtur, ornamenta tam pretioſa, quæ luxus divitiarumque ſpeciem præ ſe ferunt, in iſta Romuli fæce, urbiſque paupertate, excogitata primum fuiſſe. At quæcunque rei ipſius origo fuerit, tamen uſum ejus antiquiſſimum, atque ab Etruria deductum eſſe liquet.

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[a] Silvar. l. 5. 3. v. 120.
[b] Cic. in Verr. 1. 58.
[c] In Romul. p. 30. B.
[d] Hiſt. N. l. 33. 1.
[e] Saturn 1. 6.

—— *Etruſcum puero ſi contigit aurum*[f].

Pueri autem Romani, cum virilem jam togam ſumpturi eſſent, Bullam una cum prætexta deponere, Laribuſque ſuſpendere ſolebant.

Cum primum pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis Laribus donata pependit[g].

Atque hinc Lares Bullati a Petronio memorantur[h]. Sed et aliis eam quoque Diis interdum donatam fuiſſe, ex Inſcriptione antiqua apparet.

IVNONI PLACIDAE
. . . .
CLAUDIA SABBATS
BVLLAM D. D.[i]
. . . .

De tempore Bullam deponendi, togamque ſumendi, diverſas ſane atque inter ſe diſcrepantes eruditorum ſententias reperio. Nonnulli anno decimo quarto id fieri ſolitum declarant; quod ex Suetonii potiſſimum teſtimonio, exemplisque ex Cæſarum temporibus petitis, confirmant. At vero Imperatores eos cunctas fere veterum conſuetudines immutaſſe, togamque pro arbitrio atque honoris cauſa, filiis et propinquis ante legitimum tempus dediſſe cognovimus. Neroni togam anno decimo quarto donatam legimus: at *maturatam* eam dicit Tacitus, *quo Reipublicæ capeſſendæ habilis videretur*[k]. Priſcis Reipublicæ temporibus, togam haud ante annum decimum ſeptimum pueris conceſſam exiſtimo; at labante paullatim priſcorum diſciplina, parentes, quo liberis gratificarentur, gaudium iſtud libertatiſque initium maturaſſe, togamque anno decimo ſexto eis indulſiſſe, conſtat: quippe eo ætatis ſuæ anno Ciceronem, et ipſum togam virilem ſumpſiſſe, et filio poſtea eundem annum agenti eam donaſſe, a Cardinali Noriſio demonſtratur[l].

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[f] Juv. Sat. 5. 165. At non pueris modo Bullam auream conceſſam eſſe, ſed puellis etiam, et die ipſo natali, dari ſolitam, ex Plauti loco quodam ſignificari videtur.

Et Bulla aurea eſt, pater quam dedit
mihi natali die.
Rud. 4. 4. 127.

[g] Perſ. Sat. 5. 30.

Mox ubi Bulla rudi dimiſſa eſt aurea collo,
Matris et ante Deos libera ſumpta toga.
Propert. 4. 1. 131.

Quippe in omni vitæ mutatione, veteribus ſolenne erat, ætatis anteactæ inſignia, ſeu artis quam exercuerant inſtrumenta, Deorum alicui conſecrare; Ephebis Bullam; Virginibus nupturis, zonam; militibus et gladiatoribus, arma; Servis, catenas; paſtoribus, fiſtulam. *Vid. Hor. Ep.* 1. 1. *it. Sat.* 1. 5. *Virg. Ecl.* 7. *Anthol. Græc.* 1. xi.

[h] c. 38.

[i] Grut. p. 25. 2.

Bullam vero, ut Laribus dicari, ſi ad pubertatis annos puer perveniſſet, ita in ſepulchro condi ſoleri, ſi prætextatus mortem obiiſſet, ex Bullæ noſtræ hiſtoriola colligi poſſe videtur. Sponius etiam marmor quoddam ſepulchrale exhibet, in quo pueri bullati imago inſculpta cernitur, cum hac inſcriptione[m].

D. M.
Q. ATERIVS. AD
IVTOR. FECIT
Q. ATERIO. AGE
THEMERO. FILIO
SVO. VIXIT. AN.
IIII. M. II.

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[k] Ann. 12. 41.

[l] Cenotaph. Piſ. Diſſ. 2. c. 4.

[m] Miſcell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299.

F 2

Ubi Quadrimuli hujus Bulla, cujus figura in pueruli pectore extrinſecus expreſſa eſt, intra Ollam etiam, ut conjicere licet, una cum oſſibus ejus recondita fuit.

De nominis autem perinde ac rei origine, auctores veteres haudquaquam inter ſe convenire video. Feſtus illud a græca voce, βȣλὴ, derivatum dicit, ut eam ætatem aliorum conſilio regendam, ſignificaretur[n]. Alii ab aquæ bullis, aere inflatis et nomen et formam deducunt; ad levitatem ſcilicet humanam, imbecillitatemque indicandam[o]; ſecundum vetus illud proverbium, *Homo Bulla*[p]. At vero Macrobius, *ingenuis pueris attributum eſſe ſcribit, ut cordis figuram in Bulla ante pectus annecterent, quam inſpicientes, ita demum ſe homines cogitarent, ſi corde præſtarent*[q]. Ex quo quidem Macrobii loco, eruditorum plerique, quoties in ſcriptis veterum explicandis in Bullæ mentionem inciderint, cordiformem eam eſſe declarant[r]. Sponius autem, Cauſæuſque, qui veram Bullæ aureæ formam ex monumentis ſtatuiſque antiquis accuratius inveſtigarant. Macrobii errorem coarguuut, Bullamque auream, neque cordiformem neque ulla cordis figura inſculptam, ſed rotundam plane, atque huic noſtræ ſimillimam paremque omnino fuiſſe oſtendunt[ſ].

Macrobius igitur, qui Honorii temporibus floruit, in quibus Bullæ aureæ mos in deſuetudinem forſitan abiiſſet, hanc Bullarum Cordiformium notionem ex Chriſtianorum uſu arripuiſſe videtur; quibus cordis figura, ut Aringhus docet, tanquam amoris innocentiæ atque integritatis ſymbolum, magno in honore fuit, eorumque ſepulchris ſæpiſſime inſculpta, atque in Bullæ etiam ipſius locum ſubſtituta[t]. At vero Caſalius marmoream pueri imaginem e Muſeo ſuo edidit, Bulla ornatam, in qua cordis figura inſculpta apparet: quod tamen ad Chriſtianorum priſcorum conſuetudinem iſtam omnino referendum eſſe, Ficcoronius oſtendit[u].

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[n] In voce Bulla.

[o] Plutarchi in Romul. 30.

[p] Varr. de Re Ruſt. l. 1. 1.

[q] Saturn. l. 1. c. 6.

[r] Thom. Dempſter. Etrur. Regal. p. 303. Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 2. l. 6. 690. it. Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. p. 242.

[ſ] Spon. Miſcell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299. Cauſeus. Muſ. Rom. p. 103.

Quinetiam omnes fere, qui de Bulla aurea ſcripſerunt, eam nobilium ſolummodo liberis, tanquam propriam attribuunt; attamen Equeſtri loco natis, uſque ab initio conceſſam, liquet[x]: et poſtremis deinceps Reipublicæ temporibus, ab ingenuis ſane quibuſlibet, ſeu omnium ordinum civibus, quorum facultates ad iſtiuſmodi ſumptum pertingerent, pro libitu uſurpatam eſſe, ex Ciceronis loco quodam perſpicuum eſt.

Etenim Cicero, Verrem accuſans, puerum quendam prætextatum, P. Junium, quem patrimonio Verres ſpoliarat, in conſpectu Judicum ſed ſine Bulla produxit; quod cum Hortenſius, qui Verrem defendebat, eum populariter, atque invidiæ commovendæ cauſa feciſſe queſtus eſſet, Cicero ita reſpondet; " Quid erat, Hortenſi, tandem in illo puero populare? quid invidioſum? Gracchi credo, aut Saturnini, aut alicujus hominis ejuſmodi produxeram filium, ut nomine ipſo et memoria patris animos imperitæ multitudinis concitarem.

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[t] Aringh. ibid. 694.

[u] De Veter. Chriſtianor. ritib. p. 265. Edit. Rom. 1644. it. Ficcoron. Della Bolla d'oro. p. 14.

[x] Unde mos deductus, ut eorum, qui equo meruiſſent, filii inſigne id haberent. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 33. 1.

“tarem. P. Junii erat, hominis de plebe Romana, filius— Hic iſtius nefario latrocinio bonis patriis fortuniſque omnibus ſpoliatus venit in judicium——Itaque tibi, Hortenſi, non illius ætas ſed cauſa; non veſtitus ſed fortuna popularis videbatur: neque te tam commovebat, quod ille cum toga prætexta, quam quod ſine Bulla venerat. Veſtitus enim neminem commovebat is, quem illi mos et jus ingenuitatis dabat. Quod ornamentum pater dederat, indicium atque inſigne fortunæ; hoc a prædone iſto ereptum eſſe, graviter et acerbe homines ferebant[y].” Ex quo loco patet, Bullam non nobilitatis, ſed ingenuitatis tantum, divitiarumve potius inſigne fuiſſe: quam quidem Cicero, a filio hominis de plebe geſtatam, et fortunis deinde imminutis, ab eodem depoſitam eſſe, declarat. Atque hoc idem ex Inſcriptione iſta ſepulchrali ſupra allata, de puerulo quadrimo Bulla ornato, confirmari videtur: puerum nempe eum non niſi libertino genere natum eſſe, ex Græco Agathemeri cognomine, adjutoriſque titulo, quo pater inſignitur, colligere licet: adjutores enim illi Cæſarum fere liberti erant, qui inter Domus Auguſtæ officia, vicariam aliquam operam præſtabant[z].

Hæ Bullæ aureæ, ex omnibus, quæ jam reſtant, germanæ antiquitatis monumentis, rariſſimæ ſunt. Quippe quæ a foſſoribus egenis atque eſurientibus haud citius reperiri, quam

in

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[y] In Verr. l. 1. 58.

[z]

D. M.	D. M.	D. M.
P. AEL. AVG.	FASTVS. AVG. LIB.	T. AELIVS. CRISPINVS.
LIB. AGATHE.	ADIVTOR. AB. EPIS	AVG. LIB. ADIVTOR
MERI. ADIVT.	TVLIS. &c.	A. RATIONIBVS. &c.
AB. EPIST. LAT.		

Has inſcriptiones una cum multis aliis ejuſdem generis videre licet apud Fabret. *Inſcript. Antiqu.* p. 345.

in uſus proprios converti, atque aurifici ſtatim pro auri tantilli pondere, vendi ſolent. Etenim præter hanc unam, alteramque, quæ Romæ adhuc aſſervari dicitur, haud aliam uſpiam extare credo. Alterius vero illius effigiem in lucem edidit Cauſæus[a]; huic noſtræ ſimillimam, ſive eandem potius, niſi quod illa CATULI nomen inſcriptum præferat, noſtra nullo nomine litteriſve ſignata ſit. Ex hac autem rerum inter ſe alias ſimillimarum differentia, conjectare poſſumus, iſtam nominis inſcriptionem, de qua nullam prorſus apud veteres mentionem animadverti, non antea fieri ſolitam, quam puer toga jam virili ſumpta Bullam depoſuiſſet, Laribuſque dicaſſet; noſtramque propterea nomine carere, quod puer, qui eam geſtaſſet, antequam eam ætatem attigiſſet, morte præreptus eſſet.

Bulla noſtra ex duabus auri puriſſimi laminis rotundis confecta eſt, quæ a tertia item lamina ſublonga, at in ſeſe reflexa ſeu duplicata, et ſculptili opere ornata, claviculorum trium aureorum ope, ſuperne connectuntur. Hæ vero laminæ rotundæ ex omni alia parte a ſe invicem jam diviſæ ſunt, quas tamen margine quodam conjunctas olim fuiſſe conſtat, ut remedia, opinor, aliqua intus caperent, quæ ad valetudinem pueri tuendam valuiſſe credebantur; quibuſque incluſis, lamina ſuperior, globuli ad inſtar, convexa apparuit, qualem illam videlicet in ſtatuis antiquorum Bullatis, Romæ adhuc extantibus, videmus[b].

Bullæ noſtræ, ut primum reperta fuit, hiſtoriolam, italica lingua conſcriptam, ad eruditum Baudelotium, Academiæ

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[a] Vid. Muſ. Roman. Mich. Cauſæi. p. 103. Fig. 6.

[b] Plutarchus item Bullam, *lunæ dimidiato orbe fulgenti* ſimilem dicit. *Quæſt. Rom. p.* 388. *B. Edit. Par.*

Pariſienſis ſocium, miſerat Ficcoronius; cujus quidem epiſtolam, una cum Diſſertatiuncula quadam de Bullæ aureæ uſu atque origine in lucem poſtea edidit Baudelotius; in qua Bullam ipſam non *a puero, ſed Imperatore aliquo in triumpho* geſtatam eſſe declarat, propterea quod et magnitudine et pondere, ut ei videtur, majore eſſet, quam ut a puero commode geſtari poſſet[c]. Hanc autem opinionem vir iſte doctus a Cauſæo ſumpſiſſe videtur; qui Bullam eam alteram, Catuli nomine inſcriptam, in lucem antea emiſerat, atque a Q. Lutatio Catulo, C. Marii in triumpho Cimbrico Collega, uſurpatam eſſe cenſuerat[d]. Montfauconius item, eundem Cauſæum ſecutus, et Bullæ ejuſdem figuram in Theſaurum ſuum transferens, de Bullis eam *triumphalibus* fuiſſe exiſtimat, ob cauſam ſcilicet iſtam, a Baudelotio allatam, quod ponderoſa nimis eſſet, quam quæ puerili ætati conveniret[e]. At vero hanc hominum, doctiſſimorum licet, opinionem, mihi nullo modo probari fateor: primum, quod Bullas ejuſmodi puerili ætati parum congruas eſſe; deinde, quod a *Triumphantibus* omnino geſtari ſolitas, affirmant: quorum neutrum quidem, quantum ipſe inveſtigare potuerim, ulla omnino vel monumentorum vel ſcriptorum veterum fide niti reperio.

Primum quod attinet, bullam hanc noſtram, perinde ac alteram iſtam a Cauſæo editam, cum germanis puerorum bullis et forma et magnitudine penitus congruere, perſpicuum eſt; primum ex Statuis iſtis bullatis, quarum permultæ adhuc Romæ extant[f]; deinde ex eis, quas Sponius, Begerus, alliique aliique in libris ſuis deſcriptas exhibuerunt[g]; tum ex pictura item vitrea, infra a me deſcribenda; in qua bullam de pueruli collo, eadem plane magnitudinis proportione ac noſtram, dependentem videmus. Neque ullo modo incommodum, aut a puerili ætate alienum cenſeri poteſt, ejuſmodi ornamentum haud unciæ pondus exſuperans, a pueris uſque ad annum ætatis decimum ſextum geſtari ſolere.

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[c] Vid. Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ. Inſcript. Vol. 3. p. 230.

[d] Muſ. Roman. p. 103.

[e] Antiq. Tom. 3. par. 1. l. 2. c. x.

[f] Statuæ puerorum Bullatæ dicuntur, quibus Bulla marmorea de collo ita dependet, ut a pueris ipſis ex auro revera geſtata eſſet. Iſtiuſmodi ſtatuam Æmilio Lepido

Præterea, quod viri iſti docti affirmant, bullam videlicet auream a Triumphantibus geſtari ſolitam; etſi ab omnibus profecto, qui de ea ſcripſerunt, idem quoque declarari video, mihi tamen in hanc rem quam diligentiſſime inquirenti, non modo dubium, ſed falſum plane eſſe apparet; documentumque ſane inſigne præbet, quam facile monumentorum horum interpretes, in rebus præſertim obſcurioribus, opinionem ab auctore aliquo probato ſuſceptam amplecti, atque alius alium abſque hæſitatione ulla ſequi ſolent. Etenim omnes, hanc ſuam de bullis triumphalibus notionem, ex unico tantum atque incerto illo quidem Macrobii teſtimonio confirmant, quod his verbis traditur; "Tarquinius Priſcus Rex tertius ab Hoſ-
" tilio, quintus a Romulo, de Sabinis egit triumphum, quo
" bello filium ſuum annos quatuordecim natum, quod hoſtem
" manu percuſſerat, et pro concione laudavit, et bulla aurea
" prætextaque donavit; inſigniens puerum ultra annos fortem
" præmiis virilitatis et honoris. Nam ſicut prætexta magiſtra-
" tuum, ita bulla geſtamen erat Triumphantium, quam in

Lepido puero, in Capitolio S. C. poſitam legimus; quod in prætextæ annis in aciem progreſſus, hoſtem interemit, civemque ſervavit. [Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.] Cujus quidem generis ſtatuas ſane multas, in Nobilium palatiis, Villiſque Romæ adhuc extantes vidi.

[g] Vid. Spon. Miſcell. Erud. Antiqu. p. 299. it. Beger. Theſaur. Brand.

" triumpho præ ſe gerebant, incluſis in eam remediis, quæ " crederent adverſus invidiam valentiſſima. Hinc deductus " mos, ut bulla et prætexta in uſum puerorum nobilium " uſurparentur[h]." Ex quibus verbis, hoc imprimis notandum; quod Macrobius de bullæ origine hoc loco diſputans, ſententiam eam, non ut ſuam aut certam, ſed unam ſolummodo ex multis proponat; quæ tamen ab eo poſtea rejecta eſt. Deinde, quod morem eum bullæ in triumpho geſtandæ, ante Tarquinii tantum ætatem obtinuiſſe dicat: neque apud alium quemlibet ſcriptorem antiquum, de bullis hiſce triumphalibus, mentionem omnino ullam animadverti.

Plutarchus contra ſcribit, " Romulum, cum Veientes prælio " fudiſſet, eorum Ducem provectæ ætatis in triumpho captivum duxiſſe, ſed puerili veſtitu propterea indutum, quod " præter ætatem imperite et pueriliter rem geſſiſſe putaretur: " idque ad ſuam uſque ætatem manſiſſe, ut triumphantes, " cum ob victoriam partam ſacrificarent, ſenem quendam " prætexta et bulla puerili, ludibrii cauſa ornatum, per Forum in Capitolium ducerent[i]." Ex quo apparet, neque Romuli neque Plutarchi deinceps temporibus, bullam a Triumphantibus omnino geſtatam eſſe, ſed ſeni cuidam ridiculo, per jocum ſolummodo, in triumpho tributam: unde in proverbii conſuetudinem veniſſe videtur, ut ſiquis ætate provectior inepte aliquid feciſſet, is bulla dignus appellaretur, ſecundum iſtud Juvenalis, in Criſpinum illudentis,

—— *Dic Senior, Bulla digniſſime*[k].

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[h] Saturn. l. 1. 6.

[i] In Vit. Romul. p. 33.

[k] Sat. 13. v. 33.

Ornamenta porro Triumphalia, Maſſiniſſæ olim regi a populo Romano miſſa, a Livio ſigillatim omnia enumerantur; aurea videlicet *corona*, *aurea patera*, *ſella curulis*, *Scipio eburneus*, *Toga picta*, *et Tunica palmata*: quæ cum Scipio ille Africanus, populi juſſu, regi traderet; addidit, inquit Livius, verbis honorem; *neque magnificentius quidquam Triumpho apud Romanos, neque Triumphantibus ampliorem eo ornatu eſſe*[l]*:* in quo tamen ornatu bullam auream locum nullum habuiſſe videmus.

Quod argumentum vero noſtrum quam maxime confirmat, puerorum bullatorum ſtatuæ, ut dixi, permultæ adhuc extant, at nulla tamen Triumphantis bullati effigies uſpiam viſa eſt: cumque in marmoribus, arcubus triumphalibus, nummis, columniſque antiquis, Triumphantium interdum figuræ in ipſo triumphandi actu curruque exſculptæ reperiuntur, bulla tamen aurea nuſquam apparet; quæ cum ſupra togam de collo dependere ſoleret, nec omitti nec abſcondi poterat, ſi ad Triumphantium omnino ornatum pertinuiſſet[m]. At vero bullas iſtas pueriles, maximo ſemper apud Romanos in honore fuiſſe, accepimus. Bello enim Punico, cum ſumma pecuniæ inopia premerentur, ærariumque prorſus exhauſtum eſſet, Senatus decrevit, " ut quicquid auri argenti æriſve ſignati domi " habuerint, id omne in publicum conferrent, ita tamen ut

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[l] Liv. l. 30. 15.

[m] Pierius autem Valerianus, de Bullæ aureæ uſu diſputans, Triumphatoris ſane, curru triumphali invecti, effigiem exhibuit, cui Bulla e collo dependet. Illa vero, ex nullo monumento vetere deſumpta, ſed ad argumentum ſolummodo pro more ſuo illuſtrandum inventa, atque ex auctoris ipſius ingenio penitus ficta eſt: cujus quidem ſpeciem ornatumque omnem, a germano Triumphantium veterum habitu omnino abhorrere, conſtat.

Vid. Pier. Valer. Hieroglyph. de Bull. p. 301.

“ anulos ſibi quiſque et filio bullam relinquat [n].” Sertorius denique, cum in Hiſpania bellum contra Romanos gereret, quo Hiſpanorum animos ſibi devinciret atque in fide ſua retineret, prætextam bullamque auream liberis eorum, Romano more geſtandam, dediſſe traditur [o].

Bullæ vero aureæ loco, Libertinorum, civiumque pauperiorum filios, ſignum quoddam ejuſdem formæ, ſed ex corio factum, geſtare conſueviſſe legimus ; de quo Juvenalis,

——— Etruſcum puero ſi contigit aurum,
Vel nodus tantum, et ſignum de paupere loro [p].

Sed pauperiores etiam iſti, ut modo dictum eſt, quum ex rerum ſuarum anguſtiis emergere cœpiſſent, bullam ſibi auream pro libitu ſumpſiſſe videntur. Cujus quidem figura ſemper rotunda fuit ; ita ut ea omnia, quæ alia quavis forma, bullarum vero nomine, Montfauconius cæterique exhibuerunt, ad amuletorum claſſem Bonannius omnino referenda putat [q]: quæ pro parentum arbitrio, et forma et materia inter ſe diſcrepantia, puerorum collis ſuſpendi ſolebant.

Ab his autem bullis, ornamenta balteorum cingulorumque militarium deaurata, ſeu acupicta, quæ rotunditate et colore ſimilitudinem quandam præ ſe ferebant, a ſcriptoribus antiquis bullæ vocantur.

[n] Liv. l. 26. 36. it. Flor. l. 2. 6.

[o] Plutarch. in Vit. Sertor. p. 575.

[p] Juven. Sat. 5. 165. it. Macrob. Saturn. 1. 6.

[q] “ In iis enim Ethnici characteres “ magicos ſeu alias res inſerebant, quas “ putabant validiores ad avertandas faſci- “ nationes et morbos : eas inter amuleta “ repono, nequis putet illas ex eo genere “ Bullarum eſſe, quæ e collo puerorum “ nobilium olim dependebant.” *Muſ. Kicherian.* p. 37.

—— Phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea Bullis
Cingula[r] ——
Humerum nodis cui balteus aſper
Subligat[s].

Ubi quas Virgilius, Bullas, Juvenalis et Valerius Flaccus nodos appellant; quippe eodem ſenſu vox utraque uſurpata erat, pro rotundis ſcilicet et convexis operis cujuſlibet particulis, quæ ſupra reliquas e ſuperficie eminebant.

Hinc item clavorum capita rotunda et deaurata, quæ in templorum valvis, divitumve foribus infigi ſolebant, bullas vocari cognovimus.

Juſſin' in ſplendorem dari Bullas has foribus noſtris[t]*?*

bullaſque præterea, ex auro ſolido conflatas, Cicero e templo Minervæ a Verre furto ablatas, commemorat[u].

Atque hinc quoque ſigilla iſta rotunda et ſpecioſa, quæ ex auro vel alia quavis materia, Diplomatibus Epiſtoliſque Imperatorum ac ſummorum Pontificum adnectebantur, a medii ævi ſcriptoribus bullæ appellantur[x]. At vero nomen tandem a ſigillis, ad Chartas ipſas traductum eſt; atque Imperatorum, Pontificumque decreta et diplomata, bullas etiam hodie nominari cognovimus.

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[r] Virg. Æn. 9. 359.
—Notis fulſerūnt cingula Bullis
Pallantis pueri —— ibid. 12. 942.

[s] Valer. Flacc. Argonaut. 579.

[t] Plaut. Aſinar. 2. 4. 20.

[u] Bullas aureas omnes ex his valvis, quæ erant multæ et graves, non dubitavit auferre, quarum iſte non opere delectabatur, ſed pondere. *Cic. in Ver.* 4. 56.

[x] Du Freſne Gloſſar. οἰκεία ἐσφράγισεν βȣ͂λλῃ.

TABULA III.

SECT. II.

PICTURA hæc vitrea, in qua mulieris ac pueruli imagines coloribus aureis venuſte ſatis expreſſas cernimus, in Tiburis antiqui ruinis, una cum aliis quibuſdam vaſculis, e vitro pariter conflatis, reperta fuit: quæ quidem ex pulchritudine ejus, eorum certe temporum fuiſſe apparet, quibus ars ipſa pingendi haud multum a priſcorum adhuc perfectione deſciviſſet. Ficcoronius, qui figuram ejus ectypam Romæ in lucem edidit, eam ad Alexandri Severi ætatem referendam arbitratur[y]. At comarum ornatus, reticulumque aureum, quo mulieris caput tegitur, antiquitatem quandam ſuperiorem redolere videntur: quippe reticulum vel Republica florente, perinde ac Cæſarum poſtea temporibus, inter muliebria capitis ornamenta recenſitum legimus.

Reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet[z].

Sed mulieris item collum catenula, ſeu monili aureo ornatum eſt; ejuſdem plane generis, ac quod in ollis veterum ſepulchralibus, una cum oſſibus mortuorum interdum conditum reperitur[a]. Quod vero ad rem noſtram magis pertinet, de pueruli collo bulla aurea, ingenuitatis inſigne, dependens cernitur; quæ cum forma, tum magnitudinis proportione, cum bulla iſta germana, quam ſupra exhibui, penitus congruit.

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[y] In libro Italice conſcripto, Della Bolla d'Oro de'Nobil. Roman. &c. 4to in Roma. 1732. p. 12.

[z] Juven. Sat. 2. 96. Varr. de ling. lat. l. 4. Nonius Marcellus reticulum tegmen capitis muliebre vocat. [De prop. Serm. c. 14.] Servius locum iſtum Virgilii, *Crines nodantur in aurum*, de retiolo aureo intelligit, in quod Didonis comæ colligebantur. [Æn. 4. 138.] Iſidorus autem reticulum, non a rete, ſed quod crines retineret, ita vocari, haud recte arbitratur. Orig. l. 19. 31.

Quinetiam pueruli hujus toga ſingulare quiddam exhibere videtur; nam faſciam quandam latam, baltei ad inſtar, trans pectora ductam, atque alteram inde ejuſdem formæ, deorſum pendentem cernimus. Atqui hanc eandem togæ ſpeciem in aliis item paucis, et virorum et fœminarum ſtatuis obſervavi; de qua tamen nihil omnino quod liquet, a ſcriptoribus traditum reperio. Hoc mihi tamen veriſimile apparet, faſcias haſce, togæ ejus quam *trabeam* vocabant, formam et geſtandæ morem indicare. Trabea enim nihil aliud erat, ac togæ ſpecies quædam, purpureis faſciis, virgiſve, velut trabibus diſtincta; quam ita in geſtando componere ac complicare ſolebant, ut ex faſciis iſtis una ſemper in pectore niteſceret, altera deorſum inde fluere videretur[b]. Trabeam autem ipſam non niſi regum initio geſtamen fuiſſe conſtat[c]; deinde conſulum[d]; tum equitum quoque in ſolenni eorum tranſvectione, a Q. Fabio idibus quintilibus inſtituta[e]. At vero hunc, quem in pictura noſtra videmus, trabeæ geſtandæ morem, non niſi imperatorum poſtea temporibus obtinuiſſe puto; neque a principibus tantum aut conſulibus, ſed a principum item filiis ac propinquis, tunc quidem geſtari cœpiſſe: de quorum fortaſſe numero hunc puerulum matremque ejus fuiſſe credamus. At poſterioribus deinceps ſeculis, togæ hujus honorem nobilibus, divitibuſque promiſcue omnibus pro libitu permiſſum eſſe, ex ſculpturis, ſtatuiſque antiquis hac ipſa trabea ornatis, perſpicuum eſt [f].

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[a] Vid. Ficcoron. ibid. it. Beger. Theſaur. Brandeb. Tom. 3. p. 426.

[b] Vid. Ferrar. de re veſtiar. l. 2. c. 5. it. Dempſt. Etrur. Regal. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 26.

[c] Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema
Quirini.
Et faſces meruit, Regum ultimus
ille bonorum. *Juv. S.* 8. 259.
Trabeis uſos accipio reges. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 8. c. 48. it. l. 9. c. 39.

[d] Ipſe Quirinali trabea, cinctuque Gabino.
Inſignis reſerat ſtridentia limina conſul. *Virg. Æn.* 7. 612.

[e] Liv. l. 9. ad fin. Val. Max. 2. 2.

Permulta vitreorum antiquorum fragmenta, auro coloribuſque variis depicta, ab harum rerum ſtudioſis collecta, atque in publicum edita cognovimus [g]: de quibus librum ſane ſingularem, atque eximia eruditione refertum, vir illuſtris, Philippus Buonarotti, Senator Florentinus, Italica lingua conſcripſit [h]. Ad quem, ab humaniſſimo doctiſſimoque ſene, Salvinio, ipſe olim Florentiæ deductus, ædes ejus vidi, cum Romanorum, tum Tuſcorum veterum ſtatuis, vaſculis, ſculpturiſque egregie ornatas; neque minus tamen ob poſteriorum item ſeculorum inventa celebrandas; nobilia præſertim ſummi iſtius pictoris atque anteceſſoris ſui, Michaelis Angeli Buonarotti opera, a quo conclave quoddam, exquiſito artificio pictum, in iiſdem ædibus oſtenditur.

Auctor autem iſte eruditus fragmentorum iſtiuſmodi vitreorum octoginta circiter accurate deſcripta, in librum ſuum contulit; ſinguliſque diſſertatiunculam adjecit. Horum vero pars maxima a priſcorum temporum Chriſtianis proveniſſe apparet, ut ex Chriſti Apoſtolorumque ejus figuris, opere plerumque rudi ac deformi pictis ſignificatur; quas tamen omnes,

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[f] Vid. Boiſſard. Tom. 3. p. 92. Montfauc. Vol. 3. l. 1. Tab. 6. fig. 2. item arcus Conſtantini figuras.

[g] Aringh. Rom. Subterran. Tom. 2. p. 265. 403, 689, &c. it. Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 537, 593.

[h] Oſſervazioni ſopr. alcun. Framment. di vaſi antichi di vetro, ornati di figure. Fol. in Firenze. 1716.

nes, ex literis, notiſque ibi adſcriptis, Conſtantini ætate antiquiores eſſe, vir doctus contendit[i].

Sed præter iſta Chriſtianorum vitra, pauca etiam quædam præſtantiora, ac majori artificio elaborata, in eodem libro reperiuntur, ex Gentilium reliquiis et ſupellectile derivata; Deorumque veterum imagines ac ſymbola plerumque exhibentia: quorum quidem unum alterumve, cum forma ipſa et magnitudine, tum picturæ ipſius elegantia, comarumque muliebrium ornatu, huic noſtro quam ſimillimum apparet, atque ex eo vitri pingendi artificio, quod auctor iſte omnium præſtantiſſimum eſſe declarat[k]. Cum hæc vero vitrorum fragmenta, ſemper fere rotunda, interdum concava, ac ſæpe effracta reperiantur; ea non niſi vaſculi cujuſdam majoris partes, et poculorum præſertim fundos fuiſſe, caſu quodam abruptos, a viris doctis affirmari video; quod etſi de nonnullis fortaſſe concedendum ſit, de univerſis tamen nequaquam ſtatuendum arbitror[l].

De hac autem quæſtione, et de vaſculorum ſimul vitreorum apud Romanos uſu, antequam plura diſſeramus, de vitri ipſius origine pauca quædam dicere libet, quæ in tanta rei obſcuritate, ex ſcriptorum veterum monumentis eruere potuerim. “Pars Syriæ eſt, inquit Plinius, quæ Phœnice vocatur, “finitima Judeæ, juxta montis Carmeli radices, cujus in littore arena quædam invenitur, quæ vitro gignendo aptiſſima, “atque unica fere per multa ſecula habebatur. Ad hunc

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[i] In Prefaz. xi, xii.

[k] Id. Tab. 25. Fig. 3.

[l] Cum certum ſit, figuras haſce nonniſi in fundis poculorum pictas reperiri; ut ex eorum concavitate pluries animadverti. [Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 539.] Poſſo dire, che ſono ſondi di Bicchieri. *Buonar. Præf.* 3.

“ locum fama eſt, navem olim mercatorum nitri appulſam “ eſſe; et cum ſparſi per littus epulas pararent, nec eſſet cor- “ tinis attollendis lapidum occaſio, glebas eos nitri, lapidum “ loco, e navi ſubdidiſſe; quibus accenſis permixta arena lit- “ toris, tranſlucentes nobilis liquoris fluxiſſe rivos, atque “ hanc fuiſſe originem vitri[m].” Hinc Sidon, urbs ejus regionis primaria, atque ob artium multarum præſtantiam, ab Homero ipſo celebrata[n], vitri quoque officinis nobilis, ſpeculorumque inventrix eſſe dicitur[o].

Apud Perſas, ante Alexandri Magni tempora, calices vitreos in uſu deliciiſque fuiſſe liquet: quippe legati quidam Athenienſes ab Ariſtophane Comico inducti ſunt, tanquam a Perſis nuper reverſi, qui Regis iſtius luxum et magnificentiam laudibus extollentes, *ſe vinum ibi dulce e poculis vitreis atque aureis bibiſſe*, narrant[p]. In Ptolemæi quoque Philadelphi pompa Alexandrina, duo calices vitrei, ſive calicum potius vitreorum abaci, e gaza regia ad populum producti memorantur[q]. In Lesbo pariter, vitriariorum officinas eadem ætate extitiſſe, poculumque quoddam vitreum, cui Lesbium nomen erat, apud Græcos in conviviis uſurpatum eſſe, ex epigrammate veteri diſcimus[r]. At poſterioribus deinde ſeculis, hoc vitri fingendi artificium in Ægypto maxime floruit: ubi Strabo, ſe *a vitriariis Alexandrinis* audiiſſe ſcribit, *terram quandam vitrariam reperiri, ſine qua nulla pretioſa, aut variorum colorum opera effici poſſent*[ſ]. Ex quo genere calices ſane iſti fuere, quos

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[m] Hiſt. N. l. 36. c. 26.

[n] Iliad. Z. 289. ψ. 743. Odyſſ. O. 115.

[o] Sidon artifex vitri. Plin. l. 5. 19. it. l. 36. 26.

[p] Acarn. Act. 1. Scen. 2. v. 74.

[q] Καὶ κυλικεῖα δύο, καὶ, ὑάλινα διάχρυσα δύο. Athenæ. l. 5. c. 7.

[r] Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑέλου, &c. Athen. l. xi. c. xi.

[ſ] Lib. 16. p. 758.

Hadrianus

Hadrianns Imperator, ad Servianum ſcribens, a ſacerdote ſibi Ægyptio donatos ait. " Calices tibi, inquit, allaſſontes[t], " [verſicolores] tres miſi, quos mihi ſacerdos templi obtulit; " tibi et ſorori meæ ſpecialiter dedicatos; quos tu velim feſtis " diebus conviviis adhibeas: caveas tamen ne his Africanus " noſter indulgenter utatur[u]." Neque ex alio genere vitrea quoque iſta fuiſſe videntur, quorum *diverſitate atque operoſitate*, *Tacitus Imperator* delectatus eſſe memoratur[x].

Ab Ægypto igitur, a Romanis demum ſubacta atque in provinciam redacta, immanis iſte vitreorum luxus, una cum ceteris Alexandriæ deliciis, Romam præcipue invectus apparet. Nam ante id tempus rara admodum de vitri uſu aut pretio, apud ſcriptores Latinos mentio reperitur[y]. Sed a primis uſque Cæſarum temporibus, pocula vitrea ſeu cryſtallina, ut ſæpe eadem vocantur, et principibus et divitibus item quibuſlibet ſummo in pretio fuiſſe certiſſimum eſt. " Cum Auguſtus, ut " a Seneca memoriæ proditum eſt, apud Vedium Pollionem " cœnaret, unus ex ſervis fregerat ejus cryſtallinum. Rapi " eum juſſit Vedius, nec vulgari quidem periturum morte; " nam murænis objici jubebatur, quas ingens piſcina contine- " bat——evaſit e manibus puer, et confugit ad Çæſaris pe- " des; nihil aliud petiturus, quam ut aliter periret, nec eſca " fieret. Motus eſt novitate crudelitatis Cæſar, et illum qui-

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[t] Vox Græca Αλλάσσοντες, allaſſontes, idem ſignificat ac colorem mutantes, vel ut hic explicatur, verſicolores, quod quidem verbum interpretationis gratia in margine adſcriptum, in textum inde irripſiſſe videtur.

[u] Flav. Vopiſc. in Saturnino. c. 8.

[x] Vid. eund. in Tacito. c. xi.

[y] Cicero autem, inter merces ex Ægypto Romam advectas, chartas, lintea, vitrum, recenſet: [Pr. Rab. Poſth. c. 14.] de vitro autem, ante id tempus, ne verbum quidem a Romano aliquo dictum memini.

“ dem mitti, cryſtallina autem omnia coram ſe frangi juſſit, complerique piſcinam [z].”

Tiberii deinde principatu, illud vitri temperamentum Romæ excogitatum fertur, ut flexibile eſſet: de quo celebris ſane hiſtoria a ſcriptoribus tradita eſt. “ Faber fuit, inquit Petronius, qui vitrea vaſa fecit tenacitatis tantæ, ut non magis quam aurea vel argentea frangerentur : quum ergo phialam hujuſmodi de vitro puriſſimo, et ſolo, ut putabat, dignam Cæſare fabricaſſet, cum munere ſuo Cæſarem adiens, admiſſus eſt. Laudata eſt ſpecies muneris, commendata manus artificis, acceptata devotio donantis. Faber, ut admirationem intuentium verteret in ſtuporem, et ſibi plenius gratiam conciliaret Imperatoris, petitam de manu Cæſaris phialam recepit, eamque validius projecit in pavimentum, tanto impetu, ut nec ſolidiſſima et conſtantiſſima æris materia maneret inlæſa. Cæſar autem ad hæc non magis ſtupuit, quam expavit. At ille de terra ſuſtulit phialam ; quæ quidem non fracta erat, ſed conliſa ; ac ſi æris ſubſtantia vitri ſpeciem induiſſet. Deinde martellum de ſinu proferens, vitrum correxit aptiſſime, et tanquam conliſum vas æneum, crebris ictibus reparavit. Quo facto ſe cœlum Jovis tenere arbitratus eſt ; eo quod familiaritatem Cæſaris, et admirationem omnium ſe promeruiſſe credebat. Sed ſecus accidit. Quæſivit enim Cæſar, an alius ſciret hanc condituram vitrorum ; quod cum negaret, eum decollari præcepit Imperator, dicens, quia ſi hoc artificium innoteſceret, aurum et argentum vileſcerent quaſi lutum [a].” Eandem hiſtoriolam Dio, ſed confuſe ac abſurde narrat, de phiala ſcilicet, non *conliſa* ſed

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[z] Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 40. Vid. it. Dio. l. 54. p. 537. it. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 9. c. 23.

[a] Petron. Sat. p. 189. Edit. Var.

fracta, atque a Fabro ſtatim de integro refecta[b]: ad eandem quoque Plinius alludit, at *famam ejus crebriorem*, *quam certiorem* fuiſſe dicit[c].

Claudio porro imperante, vulgo dici ſolitum legimus, *eum qui vaſcula vitrea vel fracta donaret*, *civem Romanum fieri poſſe*[d]. Ac Neronis ætate, ut Plinius ſcribit, ea vitri fingendi ars reperta fuit, quæ modicos duos calices, quos Pterotos vocabant, *H-S ſex millibus* venderet[e]. Hac eadem ætate, Seneca eam plane vitri conditur am deſcribit, quam in officinis noſtris hodie uſurpatam videmus. Quippe contra Poſidonium Stoicum artes quibus vita utitur, non a Philoſophia repertas eſſe contendens, "cuperem, inquit, Poſidonio vitrarium aliquem oſtendere, qui ſpiritu vitrum in habitus plurimos format, qui vix diligenti manu effingerentur. Hæc inventa ſunt, poſtquam ſapientem invenire deſivimus[f]." Ex quo, iſtud vitri artificium Romæ tunc recens eſſe, neque Poſidonio, qui Pompeii temporibus floruit, cognitum, indicari videtur. At vero paucis deinceps annis, Plinius calicum vitreorum uſum *argenti aurique metalla pepuliſſe*, ait[g].

Jam poculorum iſtorum fundos auro coloribuſque variis depingi ſolitos eſſe, ex fragmentis eorum, quæ adhuc reſtant, apparet; ita tamen, ut imaginum ibi pictarum, litterarumque inſcriptarum formæ, intus uſque converſæ, a bibentibus ſolummodo in ſitu proprio conſpicerentur[h]. Vitri autem pingendi artificium hoc fere modo effectum eſſe creditur. In lamella nimirum vitrea figuras primum, quas vellent, inſtrumento quodam fabrili exarare, atque inſculpere ſolebant; tum in ſculpturæ hujus ſulcos materiem quandam vitream ſive encauſticam, quam ſmaltum vulgo vocant, coloribus variis, at aureo præſertim imbutam, infundebant; ita tamen, ut luminis ſimul et umbræ rationem aliquam ſervarent; totam denique vitri lamellam, hoc modo depictam, encauſto rurſus alio craſſiori a tergo penitus operiebant: atque hoc quidem optimum vitri pingendi artificium, quod Romæ unquam viguiſſet, exiſtimatur[i]. Neque alio ſane modo hæc noſtra Tabella confecta apparet; cujus imagines aureo penitus colore, at reliqua vitri pars, ſeu picturæ, ut dicitur, fundus purpureo ſeu violaceo, depictus eſt.

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[b] Dio. l. 57. p. 617. E.

[c] Plin. l. 36. 26.

[d] Dio. l. 60. p. 676. D.

[e] Plin. l. 36. 26. Per calices iſtos Pterotos, nihil aliud intelligi videtur, ac calices anſa utrinque alarum quaſi modo inſtructos. Qui ſex millibus nummûm ſeſtertiorum, ſeu 50 circiter libris noſtræ monetæ vendi dicuntur; ob recentem forſitan ea ætate anſas fingendi, et cum calice conjungendi inventionem——

[f] Senec. Epiſt. 90.

[g] Lib. 36. 26. Alexandri Severi temporibus, inter Domûs Auguſtæ Officia, Præpoſitum a Cryſtallinis, in marmoribus antiquis commemoratum invenimus.

Gruter. p. 474. 4.

At non eadem arte aut diligentia reliqua iſta, quæ diximus, Chriſtianorum vitra effecta erant: ſed in tenui quodam auri folio, lamellæ vitreæ ſuperimpoſito, figurarum lineæ extremæ tantum ac præcipuæ, opere ſimplici ac rudi exaratæ eſſe videntur. Clemens Alexandrinus pocula hujuſmodi *vitrea, cælata aut depicta, a Chriſtianorum menſis* exulare jubet; quippe quæ propter fragilitatem et timere ſimul ac bibere docent[k]. Ex permultis tamen vitrorum eorum fragmentis, quæ in curioſorum adhuc Muſeis conſervantur, vel Priſcos iſtos Chriſtianos a luxu iſto haud immunes fuiſſe, liquet.

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[h] Vid. Buonarott. Prefaz. p. iii, iv.

[i] Vid. ibid.

[k] Pædag. l. 2. c. 3. De hoc Chryſtallinorum frangendorum timore ita quoque Martialis;

Frangere dum metuis, frangis Cryſtallina: peccant
Securæ nimium, ſollicitæque manus.
l. 14. iii.

Hæc vero vitrorum Chriſtianorum fragmenta, in antiquis Romæ Cœmeteriis, quæ Catacumbæ vocantur, cuncta fere reperiuntur; in calce plerumque murali infixa, et juxta loculorum eorum ora ſeu aperturas, in quibus mortuorum cadavera ſepulta jacent. Quæ quidem haud aliam ob cauſam ibi poſita eſſe exiſtimantur, quam ut in cryptis iſtis ſubterraneis et tenebricoſis, quæ in infinitos viarum meatus, vicorumque quaſi diverticula diſtribuuntur, mortuorum quiſque ſuorum ſepulchra, ſigno aliquo proprio dignoſceret, et pia ibi defunctis ſeu anniverſaria quædam officia præſtaret[l].

Ex his autem vitri fragmentis, etiamſi nonnulla, ut modo dixi, poculorum quondam fundos fuiſſe concedamus, non ita tamen de omnibus ſtatuendum eſt. Vitrum enim noſtrum, nec ſuperficie concavum, nec ulla orbis ſui parte effractum, ſed circulo aureo, tanquam opus quoddam integrum ac perfectum, ab opifice ipſo circumductum eſſe apparet: neque ob aliam certe cauſam in hunc modum pictum erat, quam ut Fœminæ cujuſdam nobilis et filioli imagines ad vivum, ut dicitur, exhiberet, poſteriſque mandaret. Quippe alia quoque ejuſdem omnino generis ac formæ vitra, imaginibus pictis ornata, ex Romæ antiquæ ruinis conſervata, atque in libris interdum deſcripta animadverti: quorum quidem unum, eximie pictum, atque Herculis ſymbolis inſtructum, Caninius protulit, idque Commodi Imperatoris effigiem præ ſe ferre ſuſpicatur[m]. Duas præterea alias, hac eadem magnitudine, imagines, in vitro affabre pictas, unam Tibicinis, alteram pueruli, Ficcoronius ſe tenere ſcribit, atque ejuſmodi eſſe ait, ac quæ ab hominibus curioſis in armariis plerumque condi ſolent [n].

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[l] Vid. Buonarott. Præf. 8.

[m] Iconograf. Tab. 82. p. 112.

Hæc encauſtica pingendi ars apud Græcos ſane vetuſta erat. Pamphilus enim, Apellis præceptor, et pinxiſſe encauſtica fertur, et docuiſſe Pauſiam Sicyonium, primum in hoc genere nobilem; qui parvas tabellas puerosque præſertim pingere ſolebat [o]. Romæ etiam inſignes quoſdam imaginum pictores Reipublicæ temporibus floruiſſe accepimus. Etenim Lala quædam, ut Plinius ait, *Virgo Cyzicena, et penicillo pinxit, et ceſtro in ebore, imagines mulierum maxime*——arte vero tanta, ut multum manupretio antecederet celeberrimos eadem ætate imaginum pictores, Sopylon et Dionyſium, quorum tabulæ pinacothecas implebant [p]. Epicuri denique vultum, *in parvis quibuſdam tabellis* depictum, diſcipuli ejus ſecum circumferre ſoliti dicuntur [q]. Hujuſmodi autem imagines in tabellis vitreis perſæpe confectas fuiſſe, propterea conjicere licet, quod *nulla alia materia*, uti ex eodem Plinio diſcimus, *ſequacior, aut picturæ accommodatior* ea ætate habita fuit [r].

Sect. III.

PRÆTER bullam iſtam auream, de qua modo diſſerui, alia item quædam, diverſæ prorſus formæ ac generis, a pueris olim Romanis, amuletorum nomine, geſtata eſſe dixi. Apud veteres enim iſtos opinionem quandam ridiculam et ſuperſtitioſam obtinuiſſe cognovimus, de invidiæ oculique maligni ictu quodam venenato, qui tenera præſertim infantulorum corpora affligere, variiſque morbis cruciare ſolebat. Contra hanc igitur peſtem multa ab eis remedia excogitata ſunt, quæ a liberis ſuis geſtata, atque e collo potiſſimum ſuſpenſa, incolumes eos ab omni faſcinatione præſtare credebantar. Sed ex hac omni amuletorum claſſe, nihil certe valentius habebatur, quam pudendi virilis effigies, ex auro interdum, ære, ebore, aut corio etiam facta[f]. De qua quidem re diſputare, ſeu loqui omnino puderet, ni non eos modo omnes, qui Romanorum ſibi ritus explicandos ſumpſiſſent, ſed et ſanctos etiam Eccleſiæ primævæ patres, quo obſcænam hanc Gentilium ſuperſtitionem ludibrio darent ac deteſtabilem redderent, de ea libere diſſeruiſſe, vidiſſem.

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[n] In libro Della Bolla d'oro, &c. p. 12.

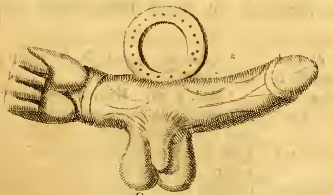
[o] Plin. l. 35. c. x.

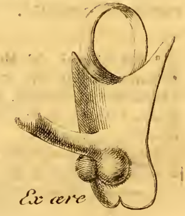
[p] Ibid.

[q] Ibid. c. 2. ubi M. item Varronem ſeptingentorum illuſtrium imagines cuidam ſuo volumini inſeruiſſe ſcribit.

[r] Id. l. 36. c. 26.

Quamobrem duas rei ejus turpiculæ figuras hic delineatas damus: quarum altera Romæ mihi in manus incidit; altera Rutupiis[t], in agro Cantiano reperta, ab amico meo erudito,


Ex ære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[f] Pueris, inquit Varro, *res turpicula* in collo quædam ſuſpenditur, nequid obſit, bonæ ſcævæ cauſa. *De Ling. Lat. l.* 6.

[t] Rutupiæ olim Urbs, Caſtrum, Portuſque Romanorum. De quibus Vid. Batteley Antiquitat. Rutupin.

et in rebus antiquis exquirendis admodum curioſo, Gul. Warren LL. D. Aulæ Trin. apud Cantabrigienſes ſocio, mihi donata eſt. Quod utraque vero a pueris olim geſtata fuiſſet, ex anulis ſuperne annexis perſpicuum eſt; quorum alter diuturno plane uſu haud parum attritus apparet.

Permultas ſane ejuſdemmodi figuras in eruditorum paſſim muſeis conſervatas, atque in libris quoque deſcriptas vidi [u]; atque unam quoque alteramve, a viris graviſſimis, Montfauconio et Bonannio in lucem editam [x]. Rem vero ipſam nominibus variis ab antiquis celebratam invenimus, et Phallum, Mutinum, Tutinum, vel ab effectu, quem edere putabatur, Faſcinum plerumque a faſcino repellendo, appellatam [y]. Quippe figuræ hujus turpitudine repulſus, ut Plutarchus ait, *malignorum intuitus, ab homine ipſo avertebatur* [z]: ſive, ut alii dicunt, Deus ipſe Priapus, tanquam faſcinantium omnium, ſeu invidentium vindex, ultorque præſens, colebatur [a].

At vero Faſcino, ſeu pudendo virili, velut generis humani auctori, cultum quendam divinum a pleriſque gentibus tributum eſſe conſtat [b]. In Ægypto, ut apud Herodotum eſt,

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[u] Vid. Memorie del Muſeo di Lod. Moſcardo. in Pad. 1656. it. Mich. de la Chauſſe ſive Cauſæi Muſ. Romam. Fol. Romæ. 1707. it. Beger. Theſaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 427.

[x] Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. par. 1. l. 2. it. Muſeum Kirch. p. 37.

[y] — —— Minuſve languet Faſcinum.
Hor. Epod. 8. 18.

Pomarii tutela diligens, rubro
Priape, furibus minare Mutino.
Priapeia. 7.

[z] Sympoſi. l. 5. p. 681, 682.

[a] Diod. Sic. p. 78. D. it. p. 214. Edit. Hanov.

[b] Ibid. p. 78. Neque alium ſane fuiſſe antiquiſſimum illum Moabitarum Deum, Baal-Peor ſeu Beelphegor ac Romanorum Priapum, ab eruditorum pleriſque exiſtimatur. *Iſtiuſmodi Idololatria,* inquit Hieronymus, *erat in Iſrael, colentibus maxime feminis Beelphegor, idolum tentiginis, quem nos Priapum poſſumus appellare.* Hieron. in Hoſeam, c. vi. it. in c. ix. Oper. T. 3. p. 1261. verſ. fin. Vid. it. Calm. Dictionar. in voce Baal-peor.

“ in Bacchi ſacris, mulieres ſtatuas quaſdam cubitales per pagos circumferebant, quæ nervis ſeu fidiculis intus diſpoſitis tractæ, membra ſua movere, ſpontaneo quaſi motu, videbantur: Faſcino præſertim, quod reliquam fere ſtatuam magnitudine exæquabat, hinc inde nutante [c].” Hæc eadem Phalli pompa, uti vocabatur, ab Ægyptiis ad Græcos traducta eſt, qui Euſebio teſte, pudendum virile in *Bacchi ſacris myſteriiſque*, Phalli nomine circumferre ac venerari ſolebant [d]. Qui vero Cypriæ Veneri initiabantur, eos *certas quaſdam ſtipes Deæ intuliſſe* legimus, et retuliſſe Phallos, a ſacerdotibus ſibi donatos, tanquam propitii numinis ſigna [e].

Hic idem Faſcini cultus e Græcia deinde Romam tranſiit, ubi Phalli ingentis erectique ſpecies, e columna marmorea ſeu ligna exſculpta atque extans, qualis in ſculpturis interdum antiquis cernitur, ſub Priapi, Mutini, vel Faſcini nomine, divinos plane honores obtinuit. “ Mutini Tutini ſacellum, inquit Feſtus, fuit in Veliis adverſus murum Muſtellinum in angiportu, de quo aris ſublatis balnearia ſunt facta domus Cn. Domitii Calvini; cum manſiſſet ab urbe condita ad principatum Auguſti Cæſaris inviolatum, et ſancte cultum fuiſſet, ut manifeſtum eſt ex Pontificum libris. Nunc Ædiculam habet ad ſextum et viceſimum, dextra via, juxta diverticulum

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[c] Herodot. l. 2. p. 109. Ed. Lond.

[d] Præpar. Evang. l. 1. Sect. 1. it. Plutar. de divitiar. cupiditat. p. 527. D. Hinc Phallophororum, qui Phallos ſcilicet iſtos in ſacris Dionyſiacis portabant; itemque Ithyphallorum nomina apud antiquos ſcriptores occurrunt. [Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 214.]

— *Sed truncum forte dolatum*
Arboris antiquæ, numen venerare Ithyphalli,
Terribilis membri, medio qui ſemper in horto
Inguinibus puero, prædoni falce minatur.
Columel. de Hortor. cult.

Suidas autem Muſicorum genus quoddam nominibus illis denotari dicit, qui in Dionyſii ſacris carmina quædam Phallica, cum geſticulationibus mimicis cantare ſolebant. Vid. it. Athenæum. l. 24. c. 4. it. Cæl. Rhodig. l. 7. c. 16.

[e] Arnob. con. Gent. l. 5.

“ viæ; ubi et colitur, et mulieres ſacrificant in ea togis prætextis velatæ[f].” Quid autem in ſacrificiis iſtis a mulieribus factum erat, a ſanctis, ut dixi, Patribus, in nefandos hoſce ritus invehentibus, diſcere licet. *Mutini immanibus pudendis*, inquit Arnobius, *horrentique Faſcino, veſtras inequitare matronas, et auſpicabile ducitis et optatis*[g]. Lactantius item, *in ſinu ejus pudendo nubentes præſidere*, ait, *ut illarum pudicitiam prior Deus delibaret*[h]. Auguſtinus quoque ſcribit, *novas nuptas ſuper ejus immaniſſimum et turpiſſimum faſcinum ſedere juſſas eſſe, more honeſtiſſimo ac religioſiſſimo matronarum*[i]. Theophilus denique Alexandriæ Epiſcopus, in cultum hunc inſanum non verbis ſolummodo illudere contentus, Phallos ipſos, ex Templorum veterum adytis extractos, per *medium forum portari*, ac *gentium myſteria ludibrio palam omnibus exponi* juſſit: ſed ingentem inde tumultum a Gentilibus excitatum, nec ſine magna Chriſtianorum ſtrage poſtea ſedatum legimus[k].

Phalli autem duplicis ſpecies iſta, quam in figurarum noſtrarum altera cernimus, manuſque ſingularem in modum complicata, ut rei obſcœnitatem ac turpitudinem illuſtriorem reddunt, ita amuleti quoque ipſius vim ſine dubio augere putabantur. Caligula manum ſuam in eundem modum formatam, Caſſio Chæreæ, ut Suetonius ſcribit, *ludibrii cauſa, oſculandam offerre conſuerat:* ob quam quidem contumeliam a Caſſio poſtea occiſus eſt[l].

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[f] Vid. in voce Mutinus.

[g] Arnob. con. Gent. l. 4.

[h] Divin. Inſtitut. l. 1.

[i] De Civit. Dei, l. 7. c. 24. it. l. 6. c. 9.

[k] Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 15. Ingens Phallorum fictilium numerus, et molis quidem horrendæ, in agro Etruriæ Cluſino, A. D. 1726, a foſſoribus quibuſdam erutus eſt. Unde Templum ibi Priapi olim ſtetiſſe viri eruditi conjiciunt. *Vid. Gor. Muſ. Etruſc.* 144.

[l] In vit. Calig. c. 56.

Quinetiam Faſcinum, non infantium modo et muliercularum Deum, ſed Imperatorum quoque cuſtodem haberi, ac *ſub curru etiam triumphantium*, ad invidiam pellendam, ſuſpendi ſolere, ex Plinio diſcimus [m]. Conſentaneum nempe antiquis illis viſum eſt, ut idem ille Deus, cui generis humani propagandi munus tributum erat, ad noxia item quælibet ab eo arcenda paratiſſimus eſſet. Quod quidem illuſtrari quodammodo videtur a Symbolica quadam apud Cauſæum Priapi effigie, cui Galli Gallinacei caput criſta ornatum, roſtri vero loco, Faſcinum ingens datur: cujuſque in baſi litteris Græcis inſcriptum legitur Σ□ΤΗΡ Κ□ΣΜοΥ. *Servator orbis.* Quæ omnia vir doctus ita interpretatur: "Gallum ſcilicet, avem "ſoli ſacram eſſe; ſolemque generatricis facultatis præſidem; "pudendumque ideo virile Gallinaceo capiti adjunctum denotare, quod a conjunctis ſolis Priapique viribus, animalium "genus omne procreatum et conſervatum ſit, ſecundum phy"ſicum quoddam Ariſtotelis axioma, *Homo hominem generat et* "*Sol* [n]."

In marmore antiquo apud Boiſſardum, inſigne quoddam Priapi ſacrificium, egregio opere exſculptum, atque a mulieribus celebratum cernimus: quarum aliæ aſinum mactant, pateriſque ſanguinem ejus excipiunt. Sacerdos vero pudendum

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[m] Hiſt. N. l. 28. 4.

[n] Cauſ. Muſe. Romam. p. 125. Aliam item, nec abſimilem ſane Priapi ex ære effigiem Begerus protulit, quæ Galli criſtam capiti impoſitam, faſcinumque tantæ longitudinis præfert, quantæ mulieres, uti ſupra dictum eſt, inequitare facile poterant. Tertiamque ſimul e marmore adjungit, cujus in baſi litteris pariter Græcis inſcribitur.

ΤΩ ΤΗΣ
ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ
ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ

Vid. Theſ. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 261, 266. it. Montfauc. Vol. 1. par. 2. l. 1. p. 28.

Dei floribus ornare, atque unguento aliquo ſeu aqua e vaſculo quodam perfundere videtur. Aliæ florum pomorumque calathos, aliæ vaſcula ſacrificalia capitibus ferre: aliæ tibias inflare; ac cymbala quædam manibus ſublatis quatere; omnes vero, Bacchantium ritu, trepidare, oculoſque et manus ad Dei ſimulachrum certatim tendere videntur[*].

Sed ut argumentum tandem hoc turpiculum dimittamus: ex nefando iſto Mutini cultu, quem uſque ab urbe condita Romæ obtinuiſſe legimus, veriſimile videtur, Romulum ipſum, qui urbis ſuæ opes atque incrementa, ab hominum multitudine, civiumque numero pèndere ſciret, non ſine conſilio quodam civili ac politico ſacrum tam obſcœnum vel inſtituiſſe, vel aliunde exceptum adoptaſſe; ut cives ſcilicet ſui, ex orgiis iſtis Priapeis, furore quaſi fanatico correpti, et religionis pariter ac libidinis ſtimulis accenſi, ad ſobolem procreandam fortius validiuſque incitarentur.

SECT. IV.

AD duas iſtas Faſcini figuras, anulum quendam ſingularem, quem ad amuletorum omnino claſſem referendum cenſeo, adjungere libuit; in parte cujus ſuperna, quæ e medio prominet, itemque in utroque orbiculi latere, hæ voces litteris Græcis inſcriptæ ſunt.

CABAω
PЄICTЄ
ADO

NAIAΛω
AI
MЄIXAH
PBIBA
ΛH

CICINΓЄVΠ
ANφAPANΓH
NЄICOVX

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[*] Boiſſard. Vol. 1. par. 2. it. Montfauc. ibid.

Ex vocibus hiſce conjunctis etiamſi nullus plane ſenſus elici queat, inſcriptionis tamen formula, anulum noſtrum ex amuletorum eorum numero eſſe oſtendit, quæ in ipſis Eccleſiæ Chriſti primordiis, a Baſilide, Heretico Ægyptio, ejuſque ſectatoribus fingi ac venditari ſolita accepimus. Qui quidem Heretici, ut apud Iræneum eſt, *utebantur magia, et incantationionibus, et univerſa periergia*; *et* CCCLXV *ementitorum cælorum nomina et principia, et angelos et virtutes exponere conabantur*[p]. Hæc autem angelorum ac poteſtatum nomina, una cum vocibus quibuſdam barbaris atque incognitis, in gemmis aut lamellis æneis inſculpere, et tanquam amuleta geſtare ſolebant: quorum permulta in eruditorum adhuc armariis conſervata ſunt; quæ Abraxas vulgo vocantur; eodem videlicet nomine, quo Heretici iſti ſummum Deum invocaſſe feruntur[q].

Sed inter alia vocabula, in gemmis his Abraxeis inſculpta, Dei nomina Hebræa, e ſcripturis ſacris deſumpta, ſemper fere reperiuntur, qualia nimirum in hoc item anulo ea clare ſatis

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[p] Adverſ. Hereſ. l. 1. c. 23.

[q] Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Roſſi Vol. 2. Fig. 22, 23. it. Cabinet. de S. Genev. p. 124 it. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 2. l. 3. it. Gorlæi Dactylioth. Gemm. 324. &c. in Gemmis autem hiſce Baſilidianis, quæ hodie reſtant, Dei nomen Græcis litteris, non ABRAXAS ſed ABRASAX, plerumque ſcriptum reperitur—

Hereticorum horum doctrina his verbis a Tertulliano ſummatim traditur. “ Baſilides ſummum Deum, *Abraxam*, vocat, a quo mentem creatam, quam Græci, NOVN, appellant; inde verbum; ex illo providentiam; ex providentia, virtutem et ſapientiam; ex ipſis, principatus, et poteſtates, et angelos factos; deinde infinitas angelorum editiones et probolas; ab iſtis angelis, trecentos ſexaginta quinque cœlos inſtitutos, et mundum in honore Abraxæ; cujus nomen hunc in ſe habeat numerum computatum.” [De Præſcript. Heret. p. 250. Edit. Rigalt.] Numeri vero hujus ſupputandi rationem Auguſtinus indicat. In nomine Abraxas, inquit, ſunt ſeptem litteræ, α, β, ρ, α, ξ, α, σ, id eſt, ſecundum Græcam ſupputationem, *unum et duo, et centum et unum et ſexaginta, et unum, et bis centum.* Quæ fiunt in ſumma, *ter centum ſexaginta quinque.* [De Hereſib. in Baſilidiani.]

expreſſa cernimus, in vocibus CABAω, ADONAI, AIΛωAI, Ex angelis autem, Michaelis præcipue nomen, qui eximium quendam cultum apud eos obtinuiſſe fertur, in amuletis hiſce obſervare licet [r], cujus quidem veſtigia hic quoque perſpicua ſunt, in MϵIXAH. Ubi ſculptor, pro ultima littera Λ, litteram P, vel oſcitanter, vel conſulto forſitan poſuiſſe videtur [ſ].

Hæc, inquam, vocabula, apud Hereticos iſtos uſitatiſſima, anulum noſtrum ex eorum diſciplina prodiiſſe oſtendunt : neque illud nos movere debet, quod reliqua prorſus barbara nec omnino intelligibilia ſint ; quippe hoc quoque cum eorundem conſuetudine penitus convenire accepimus. Etenim Sanctus Hieronymus, nomina ab eis uſurpata enumerans, *portenta ea magis, quam nomina vocat ; quæ ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos*, eos inveniſſe dicit, *ſimplices quoſque terrentes ſono, ut quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur* [t]. Has eaſdem voces Porphyrius, *barbaricas et nihil ſignificantes* [u] ; Apuleius, litteras ignorabiles appellat [x]. Quas ob eam omnino cauſam finxiſſe dicuntur, ut ſuperſtitionem ſuam melius et magica deliria tegerent, ac majorem inde venerationem ſibi conciliarent : in ore nimirum habere ſoliti, *hæc arcana eſſe, neque a multis ſciri*

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[r] Vid. Montfauc. Vol. 2. par. 2. l. 3. it. Gorl. Dactyl. 343, 353. it. Jo. Chifflet. Abrax. Tab. 4, 6, 21.

[ſ] Hi enim Heretici, quo præſtigias ſuas tenebris melius involverent, voces non modo barbaras, atque incognitas, in amuletis ſuis miſcere, ſed cognitas etiam ac uſitatas corrumpere ſolebant. Quod in hac ipſa voce MEICHAEL, item ac in aliis nonnullis eos revera feciſſe, vir eruditiſſimus J. Chiffletius oſtendit. [Abrax. Prot. p. 43.] Atque eodem modo vox, PϵICTϵ, nonniſi ad CHRISTI nomen referendum videtur, omiſſa tamen prima littera X, nam diphthongum EI pro vocali, I, in antiquis marmoribus, numiſmatibus, ac codicibus MSS. ſæpiſſime uſurpatum eſt ; uti hic in voce MEIXAHL, et alibi in ipſo item CHRISTI nomine animadverti.

[t] Oper. Vol. 4. par. 2. p. 581. Edit. Benedict.

[u] Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evan. l. 4.

[x] Metamorph. l. 2.

poſſe ; *ſed ab uno tantum e mille, et duobus e myriadibus*[y] ; atque hominibus licet ignota, *Deo tamen cognita eſſe* ; *et myſticam quandam rationem continere*[z].

Hæc Baſilidis figmenta ex Ægypto Romam migraſſe conſtat. Nam in gemmis hiſce Baſilidianis, Romanorum interdum Deorum figuras ex una parte, et vocabula iſta abraxea ex altera ; atque in nonnullis, Deorum ſimul Latinorum Ægyptiorumque ſymbola commixta cernimus[a] : ad quod Prudentius ſane alludere videtur,

> *Iſis enim et Serapis et grandi ſimia cauda,*
> *Et Crocodilus, id eſt, quod Juno, Laverna, Priapus.*
> *Hos tu Nile Deos colis, et tu Tybris adoras*[b].

De Baſilide autem ita Sanctus Hieronymus, " Quadringenti, " inquit, fere anni ſunt, quod Chriſti prædicatio fulget in " mundo, ex quo innumerabiles Hereſes tunicam illius conſci-" derunt. Univerſus pæne error de Chaldæo et Syro et Græco " ſermone proceſſerat. Baſilides magiſter luxuriæ et turpiſſi-" morum amplexuum, poſt tot annos ita in Jovinianum, " quaſi in Euphorbum transformatus eſt, ut latina quoque " lingua haberet hereſim ſuam[c].

Hac autem Baſilidis ætate, magicas haſce vanitates non Romæ tantum, ſed apud omnes fere gentes ſummo in honore fuiſſe legimus. De quo præclarum ſane Plinii teſtimonium huc adducere libet. " Hæc, inquit, fraudulentiſſima artium " plurimum in toto terrarum orbe, plurimiſque ſeculis valuit. " Auctoritatem ei maximam fuiſſe nemo miretur, quandoquidem ſola artium tres alias imperioſiſſimas humanæ mentis in " unam ſe redegit: natam primum e medicina nemo dubitat; " ac ſpecie ſalutari irrepſiſſe, velut altiorem ſanctioremque " medicinam: ita blandiſſimis, deſideratiſſimiſque promiſſis " addidiſſe vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat " humanum genus: atque ut hoc quoque ſuggeſſerit, miſcuiſſe artes mathematicas; nullo non avido futura de ſeſe ſciendi, atque ea e cœlo veriſſime peti credente. Ita poſſeſſis " hominum ſenſibus triplici vinculo, in tantum faſtigii adolevit, ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, " et in oriente Regum Regibus imperet[d].

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[y] Iren. Adv. Hereſ. l. 1. c. 23. it. Epiphan. Hereſ. 24. §. 5. it. Theodor. Heret. Fab. l. 1. c. 4.

[z] Vid. Jamblich. de Myſter. §. 7. c. 4.

[a] Vid. J. Chifflet. Abrax. Prot. Tab. 21, &c.

[b] Contr. Symmach. l. 1. I. v. 868. *grandi Simia cauda*, Hereticorum eorum Deum, *Abraxam*, denotare putatur, quem ſub ea forma in gemmis ſuis deſcribere ſolebant. *Vid. Chifflet. Tab.* 14.

[c] Adverſ. Jovinian. l. 2. Oper. Vol. 4. par. 2. p: 227.

At vero de anulis hiſce magicis, qui morbos, Dæmones, et noxia quælibet avertere credebantur, crebram ab antiquis mentionem factum invenimus. Apud Ariſtophanem, Sycophanti cuidam judicium minitanti, Juſtus reſpondit, *Ego te non flocci facio, nam geſta hunc anulum, ab Eudamo drachma emptum.* Ubi Scholiaſtes, Eudamum iſtum, *Pharmacopolam, vel aurificem eſſe ait, qui anulos phyſicos vendebat, contra Dæmones, ſerpentes, invidiam, atque alia ejuſmodi noxia*[e]. De iiſdem anulis, Antiphanis item, Comici veteris, verſus quoſdam in hunc ſenſum ab Athenæo citatos legimus; *mali jam nihil habeo, et ne habeam precor:*

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[d] Hiſt. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

[e] Ὀυδὲν προτιμῶ σȣ, Φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος Τὸν δακτύλιον τονδὲ παρ' Ἐυδάμȣ δραχμῆς. in Plut. 884.

at ſi quid ventrem mihi aut umbilicum cruciet, anulum teneo, drachma emptum a Phertato[f].

Joſephus, multos a Dæmonibus correptos, ab Eleaſaro quodam Judæo, coram Veſpaſiano Imperatore, ſanatos ſe vidiſſe ſcribit; admoto nimirum Dæmoniaci naribus *anulo quodam medicato*, et Solomonis nomine, carminibuſque nonnullis ab Eleaſaro recitatis, *Dæmones illico per nares hominum extractos eſſe*, declarat[g]. In has autem hominum vafrorum præſtigias, fictaſque anulorum vires, Lucianus more ſuo illudens, *velim modo*, ait, *Mercurius mihi det anulos, qui hujuſmodi vim habeant, primum, ut ſemper valeam et corpore ſano ſim, neque vulneribus, neque malo ulli obnoxius*, &c[h]. Atque alio loco, de *Dæmoniacis, a Syro quodam e Palæſtina* palam ſanatis, loquens, ſe talia milles conſpexiſſe dicit, neque viſu eo terreri, poſtquam *Arabs anulum ſibi dediſſet, ex ferro de cruce factum, carmenque docuiſſet, ex multis nominibus conſtans*[i].

Anulus autem noſter, non ille quidem de ferreis, aut vulgaribus iſtis drachma emptis, ſed ex gemma integra, ſeu lapide Chalcedonio, cæruleo et pellucido, effectus eſt. Qui mole licet prægrandis, at præ circuli tamen exiguitate, nonniſi a puerulo aut muliercula geſtari poſſet. Etenim Romanos, ea magnitudine anulos, qui vel pondere ipſo moleſti eſſent, geſtare ſolitos cognovimus: jam nonnulli, inquit Plinius, *pon-*

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[f] Ου γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω, μηδ᾽ ἔχοιμ᾽. ἐὰν δ᾽ ἄρα
Στρέφη με περὶ τὴν γαϛέρα, ἢ τὸν ὄμφαλον,
Παρὰ Φερτάτȣ δακτύλιος ἔϛι μοι δραχμῆς. l. 3. c. 35.

[g] Antiquitat. l. 8. c. 2.

[h] In Navig. ſeu Votis. p. 511. Edit. Var. T. 2.

[i] Id. in Philopſeud. p. 338.

dera eorum oſtentant[k]. Atque hinc anulos æſtivos hibernoſque eos habuiſſe, pro temporum ſcilicet diverſitate, diverſæ molis ac ponderis, a Juvenale indicari videtur.

Ventilet æſtivum digitis ſudantibus aurum,
Nec ſufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ[l].

Singulis hiſce gemmis virtutes quaſdam phyſicas et proprias ab antiquis tributas legimus; quæ ad morbos pellendos, corporiſque aut animi vires augendas valere putabantur. Jaſpis viridis, e collo ſuſpenſa, *ſtomachum firmare, ac calculos urinamque propellere* traditur[m]. Adamas autem *venena irrita reddere, metuſque vans depellere*[n]. Chalcedonium vero, Marbodæus, Poeta vetus, ita deſcribit.

Chalcedon, lapis eſt hebeti pallore refulgens,
Inter Hyacinthum medioximus atque Beryllum,
Qui, ſi pertuſus, digito collove feratur,
Is, qui portat eum, perhibetur vincere cauſas[o].

Has denique gemmas, vel in anulis aureis inſertas, vel ipſas interdum perinde ac Chalcedonium noſtrum, perforatas, atque in anulorum formam converſas, et Græci et Romani, more quodam ab Ægypto deducto, in ſiniſtræ manus digito, qui minimo proximus eſt, geſtare ſolebant. Quippe ab Ægyptiis, uti Gellius ſcribit, " compertum erat, nervum quendam tenuiſſimum ab eo uno digito ad cor hominis pervenire; ac propterea non inſcitum viſum eſſe, eum potiſſimum digitum tali honore decorandum, qui continens et quaſi connexus eſſet cum cordis principatu [p]."

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[k] Hiſt. N. l. 33. 1. Huc etiam ſpectat Martialis iſtud, de Dactyliotheca Epig. l. 14. 123.

Sæpe gravis digitis elabitur anulus unctis;
Tuta meâ fiet ſed tua gemma fide.

[l] Juven. Sat. 1. 28. Sunt tamen qui anulos hoſce æſtivos, non ex ponderis ſed materiæ differentia explicandos eſſe putant. Quippe qui ex iſtiuſmodi gemmis effecti eſſent, de quibus Plinius loquitur, Heliotropiis nempe, Aſteriis, Mitharibus aut Iridibus; quæ æſtate potiſſimum niteſcere, vireſque ſuas oſtentare, et cum ſoli opponerentur, magna colorem varietate admirationem ſui excitare ſolerent. Vid. J. Kirchman. de anulis c. 17. it. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 37. ix, x.

[m] Vid. Anſelm. de Boot. Gemmar. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 102.

[n] Plin. ib. c. 4.

[o] Vid. Marbod. de Gemmis Poema ad Gorlæi Dactylioth. a Jac. Gronov. adjunctum. Lugd. B. 1695.

Atqui hæc rei explicandæ ratio, certiſſimis medicorum experimentis, vana prorſus ac futilis eſſe convincitur. Aliam vero, ac magis eam quidem veriſimilem, ab Ateio Capitone traditam, Macrobius commemorat. " Veteres, inquit, non ornatus ſed ſignandi cauſa anulum ſecum circumferebant—imprimebatur autem ſculptura materiæ anuli, ſive ex ferro ſive ex auro foret: et geſtabatur ut quiſque vellet, quacunque manu, quolibet digito. Poſtea uſus luxuriantis ætatis ſignaturas pretioſis gemmis cœpit inſculpere: et certatim hæc omnes imitatio laceſſivit, ut de augmento pretii, quo ſculpendos lapides paraſſent, gloriarentur. Hinc factum eſt, ut uſus anulorum exemptus dextræ, quæ multum negotiorum gerit, in lævam relegaretur, quæ otioſior eſt; ne crebro motu et officio manus dextræ, pretioſi lapides frangerentur. Electus autem in ipſa læva manu, digitus minimo proximus, quaſi aptior ceteris, cui commendaretur anuli pretioſitas. Nam——et minus officii gerit, et ideo ſervando anulo magis accommodatus eſt [r]."

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[p] l. x. c. x.

[q] Macrob. Sat. l. 7. c. 13.

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TABULA IV.

HÆC Olla Vitrea, forma ſane eleganti, in urna marmorea incluſa, oſſiumque combuſtorum reliquiis plena, reperta eſt. Quippe vaſcula hujuſmodi omnia, quibus defunctorum cineres aut oſſa condita erant, in inſcriptionibus antiquis Ollæ vocantur; addito tamen interdum epitheto, Oſſuariæ, vel Cinerariæ [r]. Harum pars maxima fictilis, permultæ vero e marmoribus pretioſis, ſculptili opere ornatis, et nonnullæ ex alabaſtro etiam orientali formatæ erant: de vitreis autem, nulla, opinor, a ſcriptoribus antiquis mentio facta eſt: quas tamen, non tam ob pretium, quam fragilitatem, rariſſimas fuiſſe credendum eſt; apud populum præſertim, quem, in ſepulchrorum apparatu, poſteritatis memoriam, et nominis quaſi perpetuitatem, omnium gentium maxime ſpectaſſe cognovimus.

At præter Ollam noſtram, alias duas, treſve ad ſummum, e vitro pariter conflatas, a rerum antiquarum peritis deſcriptas, atque in lucem editas animadverti [ſ]: quarum una, pari fere forma ac magnitudine, atque in urna etiam fictili incluſa, in monumento Libertorum Liviæ Auguſtæ, Romæ haud dudum reperta fuit; cujus quidem figuram, vir eruditus, Franc. Gorius, in monumenti iſtius deſcriptione, delineatam edidit [t]:

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[r] Vid. Gruter. Inſcript. De Ollis. it. Monument. Libertor Liviæ Auguſtæ a Gorio Edit. Florent. 1727. Fol.

[ſ] Vid. Beger. Theſaur. Brandeb. Tom. 3. p. 470.

[t] *Vitreum Vaſculum, Dioton,* ſive cum duabus anſis, operculo munitum exhibemus: quod ſane perelegans eſt, altitudine unius palmi Romani, quod in fictili olla incluſum erat. Vid. Gorium ibid. Tab. 17. p. 49.

ſed nullam prorſus, perinde ac noſtram, pictis hominum imaginibus coloribuſque aureis ornatam, vel ipſe unquam vidi, vel ab alio quovis viſam eſſe, audivi.

TABULA V.

IN fundo Ollæ noſtræ, mortui imago aureis coloribus picta eſt, qui, quatenus ex vultu ejus, oſſiumque reliquiis intra ollam repertis atque adhuc conſervatis, conjicere liceat, haud annum ætatis viceſſimum attigiſſet. Imago vero ipſa fronde pampinea, foliis racemiſque florente, tanquam circulo, circumducta eſt: quo quidem ornatu Urnas veterum ſepulchrales ſæpe decoratas videmus; atque eo fere modo, quo in Sarcophagis interdum marmoreis, mortuorum imagines ſculptili opere fictas, atque orbiculari tabella incluſas reperimus[u].

Sect. II.

IN ambitu Ollæ, figuræ iſtiuſmodi pinguntur, quæ ad ſepulchrorum ritus, mortuorumque ſtatum pertinere credebantur. Duæ imprimis Cupreſſi, arbor Diti ſacra; atque ad mortuorum domos, ut Plinius ait, *funebri ſigno poſita*[x]. De quo ritu Feſtus, quia *hæc arbor*, inquit, *exciſa non renaſcitur, in tutela Ditis patris eſſe putabatur*[y]. Servius eam ad mortuorum januas idcirco poſitam dicit, *ne quis imprudens funeſtam domum rem divinam facturus introiret*[z]. Atque hinc in Urnis, Lucerniſque ſepulchralibus, Cupreſſi ſæpe figuram, ex utroque vaſculi latere, eodem modo atque ad mortuorum fores poni conſuerat, poſitam videmus[a]: Neque tamen ad omnium, ſed ad divitum præcipue domos collocari ſolere, ex Claudiani loco quodam ſignificari videtur.

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[u] Vid. Monument. Libert. Liv. Aug. Tab. 8, 9, 10, 13, &c.

[x] Hiſt. N. l. 16. 33.

[y] In voce Cupreſſus.

[z] Ad Æneid. 4. v. 506.

> *Et non plebeios luctus teſtata Cupreſſus*[b].

Hæ vero Cupreſſi cum ad mortuorum fores dies aliquot[c] manſiſſent, in pompa demum funebri portatæ, atque una cum mortui cadavere in rogum conjectæ erant; propter gravem ut Varro ſcribit, *Uſtrinæ odorem, ne eo offendatur populi circumſtantis corona*[d]. Hinc illud Horatii,

> *Linquenda tellus et domus et placens*
> *Uxor: neque harum, quas colis arborum*
> *Te præter inviſas Cupreſſos*
> *Ulla brevem Dominum ſequetur*[e].

SECT. III.

INter Cupreſſos iſtas, ex una vaſculi parte, duas figuras alatas, alteram Cupidinis, alteram opinor Pſyches, depictas cernimus. Quas quidem eaſdem, diverſo licet geſtu ac poſitura, in Sarcophagis, Olliſque antiquorum marmoreis perſæpe inſculptas obſervavi[f]. Pſyche, perſona prorſus ſymbolica eſt, et Papilionis ſemper alis inſtructa; qua quidem, perinde ac Papilione ipſo, veteres animam humanam a corpore ſejunctam, denotare ſolitos accepimus. Nihil enim ad naturam ejus immortalem exprimendam aptius eſſe ducebant, quam animal iſtud aerium ac volatile, quod per varias formas ad vitam uſque novam moriendo tranſire animadvertiſſent[g]. Pſyches igitur figuram, in Olla noſtra expreſſam, non niſi defuncti animam e corpore evolantem, ac cum Cupidine ſive amore, quaſi ſummo ſuo bono, ſeſe conjungere nitentem, denotare puto[h].

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[a] Vid. Boiſſard. Tom. 6. p. 62. it. Lucern. Antich. Da Pet Sant. Bartoli Fig. xi. 13. it. in hac noſtra collectione Tab. 8. Fig. 3.

[b] l. 3. v. 442.

[c] Mortuus, ut Servius ait, *domi erat ſeptem diebus, octavo incendebatur, nono ſepeliebatur.* Ad Æneid. 6. v. 152.

[d] Varro, a Servio citatus ad Æneid. 6. v. 216.

[e] Od. l. 2. 14. Hinc Cupreſſus nunquam fere ſine epitheto quodam funeſto a Poetis memoratur; atque *atra, feralis, funerea, inviſa, deplorata,* appellatur.

[f] Vid. Spon. Miſcell. p. 7, 8. Admirand. Rom. Antiqu. 66, 67. it. Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 25.

Cupido vero ad aram quandam aſtare, et thure odoribuſque Deos Manes placare videtur. Quippe aras ad mortuorum ſepulchra exſtrui ſolitas eſſe, ex innumeris fere Auctorum Inſcriptionumque veterum teſtimoniis colligere licet[i].

Divinique oſſa Parentis
Condidimus terra, mæſtaſque ſacravimus aras[k].
Ante ſepulchrales infelix aſtitit aras[l].

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[g] Vox græca ψυχὴ, Pſyche, et animam humanam et Papilionem ſimul ſignificabat. [Vid. Ariſtot. Hiſt. Anim. l. 5. c. 19. et Heſych. in voce] quæ quidem ambigua vocis hujus ſignificatio, cauſa fortaſſe fuit, quamobrem animalculum iſtud pro animæ deinceps ſymboſo ſumptum eſſet.

[h] Hæc rei interpretatio a Platone confirmari videtur; qui animis puris et perfectis alas tribuit, quibus ad cœleſtia ſemper vehuntur; quum alæ vero iſtæ defluxerint, tum ad terrena præcipites ferri ait. [Oper. T. 3. p. 246 in Phædro.] Dein alio loco ſcribit, animum quum corporis et ſenſuum miniſterio ad aliquid contemplandum utitur, tum trahi a corpore ad ea, quæ nunquam in eodem ſtatu permanent; atque ipſum errare et tumultuari et tanquam ebrium vertigine corripi: quum vero a corpore ſejunctus, per ſeipſum contemplatur, tum ad purum iſtud immortale, quod ſemper exiſtit et in eodem ſtatu permanet, contendit, et tanquam ei cognatus cum illo ſemper verſatur. [in Phædon. T. 1. p. 79. Atque hæc animi tumultuantis atque ebrii imago, in Inſcriptione quadam ſepulchrali expreſſa eſſe videtur, in qua M. Porcius Hæredibus mandat——ut *meus Ebrius Papilio Volitet*, &c. Vid. Oſſervaz. Sopr. Alcun. Framment. di Vetro. a Phil. Buonarott. p. 197.

[i] Vid. Card. Norr. Cenotaph. Piſan. Diſſert. 3. p. 608. Gruter. Inſcript. p. 527. 4. 528. 1. 549. 1. &c.

[k] Virg. Æneid. 5. 47.

[l] Ovid. Met. 8. 480.

In his autem aris, *thus atque odores Diis Manibus* plerumque incendere ſolebant: ad quem quidem morem Plinius alludens, *Arabia*, inquit, *felix appellatur, falſa et ingrata cognominis, quæ hoc acceptum ſuperis ferat, cum plus ex e feris debeat*[m].

SECT. IV.

Ex adverſa Ollæ parte, inter eaſdem Cupreſſos, tres hominum figuræ pictæ ſunt, quæ pompæ funebris ſpeciem quandam exhibere videntur. Mimus chorum ducit, qui Cupreſſum item manibus ſublatis ad rogum ferre, ac ridiculo quodam geſtu ſaltare videtur. Etenim Mimorum Ludionumque genus omne ad nobilium divitumque funera adhibitum eſſe legimus. In funere Veſpaſiani, *Archimimum quendam, perſonam Imperatoris egiſſe, atque ut mos erat, facta et dicta vivi, geſtu ac voce imitatam eſſe*, a Suetonio traditur[n].

Mimum ſequitur mulier, lancem ſeu ferculum, thure forſitan aromatibuſque plenum, ferens. Magnam enim odorum omnium copiam, ab amicis et propinquis collatam, in lancibus ferri, atque in rogum conjici ſolere notiſſimum eſt.

> ——— *Congeſta cremantur*
> *Thurea dona, dapes*[o].

quem quidem luxum Propertius a funere ſuo prohibet,

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[m] Hiſt. N. l. 12. 18.

[n] In Veſpaſ. c. 19.

[o] Virg. Æn. 6. 224.

Deſit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus[p].

“ In funere J. Cæſaris, præferentibus munera, inquit Suetonius, præſcriptum erat, ut omiſſo ordine, quibus quiſque vellet itineribus urbis, in campum portaret[q].

Sed cœnam quoque feralem, in pompa funebri portari ſolitam conſtat.

—— *Exigua feralis cœna patella*[r].

Hanc cœnam, ſilicernium vocabant, et funere peracto, ad ſepulchrum celebrare ſolebant[ſ]. Horum igitur rituum, unum alterumve, vel cœnam ſcilicet vel odores lance ferendi, ab hac muliebri figura indicatum puto.

Alia figura reſtat, facie, ut videmus, averſa, quaſi ignem pyræ ſubditura; quod capite ſemper averſo, tanquam ab invitis fieri dicitur.

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[p] L. 2. 14. de hoc ritu item Statius,

Quis carmine digno
Exequias et dona malæ feralia pompæ
Perlegat? omne illic ſtipatum examine longo
Ver Arabum, Cilicumque fluit, floreſque Sabæi
Indorumque arſura ſeges, præreptaque Templis.
Thura.

[q] In J. Cæſ. c. 84.

[r] Juven. Sat. 5. 85. de hoc etiam ritu Perſius,

Sed cœnam funeris Hæres
Negliget iratus, quod rem curtaveris; urnæ
Oſſa inodora dabit, —— S. 6. 35.

Vaſculum item, quo cœna ferebatur, Plinius, *ferculum funeris*, vocat. Hiſt. N. κ. x.

[ſ] Funus exequiati laute, ad ſepulchrum, antiquo more, Silicernium confecimus, id eſt περιδειπνον, in quo pranſi diſcedentes dicimus, alius alii Vale—[Var. Fragm. e Meleagro, a Nonio citat.] Sequebantur epulæ, inquit Cicero, quas inibant propinqui coronati. De Legib. 2. 25.

—— ſubjectam more parentum
Averſi tenuere facem[t].

Sed quid homo ipſe in manibus teneat, quidve omnino agat, ob colores ibi paullulum detritos, haud ſatis perſpicuum eſt. Ex geſtu ſane, tibicinem eum potius eſſe conjicerem; nam et tibiam et tubam ad funera adhibitas eſſe liquet: tibia vero puerorum, tuba majorum natu et nobiliorum præſertim exequiis propria fuiſſe videtur.

Tibia cui teneros ſuetum producere manes
Lege Phrygum mæſta[u] ——
Nec mea tunc longa ſpatietur imagine pompa,
Nec Tuba ſit fati vana querela mei[x].

At vero Ollam noſtram oſſium combuſtorum reliquiis plenam eſſe dixi: quippe, rogo extincto, Oſſa mortui a matre præſertim aut propinquis, lugubri veſte indutis, legi atque in Olla condi ſolebant.

Abſtineas mors atra precor: non hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in mæſtos oſſa peruſta ſinus[y]

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[t] Virg. Æn. 6. 223.

[u] Stat. Theb. 6. 120. it. Ov. Faſt. 6. 657.

[x] Propert. 2. 13. Qui tubis tibiiſve ad funera canebant, τυμβᾶυλαι græce, ſiticines latine dicebantur. Quippe qui apud ſitos, hoc eſt, vita functos canebant: quos propriam quandam tubæ ſpeciem, ceteris longiorem ac latiorem habuiſſe, ex Gellio diſcimus. [Noct. Att. lib. 20. c. 2. Vid. Hieron. Mag. Miſcell. l. 1. 1. it. Kirchman de Funerib. l. 2. 5.] Hæc nobilium funera quia a Præcone indici publice ſolebant, indictiva vocabantur. [Vid. Cic. de Legib. 2. 24.] indictionis autem iſtius formulam, apud Gutherium de Jure Manium videre licet. l. 1. c. 19.

[y] Tibull. Eleg. l. 1. 3. v. 5, de eodem ritu Virgilius,

Poſtquam collapſi cineres et flamma quievit,
Reliquias vino, et bibulam lavere favillam,
Oſſaque lecta cado texit Chorinæus aheno.
Æn. 6. 226.

Ritus ipſe Oſſilegium dicebatur, a Græcis item Οστεολογία. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 243. Ed. Han.

Hinc Seneca ad Helviam, *modo in eundem ſinum*, inquit, *ex quo tres nepotes emiſeras, oſſa trium nepotum recepiſti*[z].

Figuras denique haſce pingendi modum quod attinet, non arte illæ quidem encauſtica, neque ea ſane diligentia abſolutæ ſunt, qua mulieris ac pueruli imagines, ſupra deſcriptæ; ſed in ipſa tantum vitri ſuperficie, coloribus aureis penicillo leviter ductis, formatæ apparent.

TABULA VI.

VAſcula jam quatuor lacrymatoria, ut vulgo dicuntur, hic deſcripta videmus: duo videlicet vitrea, et duo item fictilia; quæ hac plerumque forma in Romanorum veterum ſepulchris, juxta Ollas oſſuarias poſita reperiuntur. Etenim in pompis funebribus mulieres quædam, quæ Præficæ vocabantur, quæque lacrymas pro libitu fundendi artem quandam uſu didicerant, ad mortuos deflendos pretio conductæ erant. *Preficæ*, inquit Feſtus, *ad lamentandum mortuum conductæ, dant ceteris modum plangendi, quaſi in hoc ipſum præfectæ*[a].

Præficarum igitur harum, item ac propinquorum lacrymis colligendis, atque in ſepulchro condendis, hæc vaſcula parata eſſe creduntur. Quæ quidem opinio, primum ex Præficarum munere confirmari putatur; deinde ex vaſculorum horum forma, ore videlicet patulo, lacrymis excipiendis apto; colloque oblongo, quo manu commodius teneantur; tum ex urnarum ſepulchralium operculis, quorum pars media in cyathi ſæpe formam excavata, foraminibuſque diſtincta eſt, ut lacrymæ iſtæ in ſuppoſitos mortuorum cineres defluere facile poſſent; denique ex verborum formula, in tumulorum ſæpe inſcriptionibus uſurpata, *lacrymas ponere*, *cum lacrymis ponere*, et *tumulum lacrymis plenum dare*[b]. Atque has potiſſimum ob cauſas, omnes rerum antiquarum interpretes, hujuſmodi vaſcula, uno prorſus ore lacrymatoria, ſeu ad lacrymas, appellant.

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[z] De Conſolat. ad Helv. c. 2.

[a] Quod Præficæ vero nomen in deſuetudinem abiiſſet, a Varrone indicari videtur. Hæc mulier, inquit ille, vocitata olim Præfica, uſque ad ſecundum Punicum bellum. [Fragment. de Vit. Pop. Rom. l. 3.] attamen mos ipſe manſit, ut ab Horatio diſcimus,

Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt,
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo,
ſic —— Art. Poet. 431.

Hæc vero hominum doctiſſimorum ſententia, ſpecioſa licet et probabilis, mihi tamen nullo modo vera eſſe videtur. Equidem mulieres in funeribus veterum ad plorandum adhibitas lubens agnoſco: at vero de lacrymis in phialas fundendis, atque in tumulum condendis, ne verbum quidem a veteribus traditum; neque de vaſculis ipſis, aut lacrymas colligendi conſuetudine, mentionem omnino ullam factam, reperio: neque in pomparum funebrium deſcriptionibus, ubi plorantium imagines exſculptæ interdum cernuntur, ullum iſtiuſmodi vaſculum in mulierum uſquam manibus viſum memini[c].

Præterea, in Chriſtianorum priſcorum ſepulchris, hæc eadem vaſcula, et vitrea et fictilia, reperta eſſe conſtat: quorum figuras haud paucas Aringhus in lucem edidit; eaque non lacrymis condendis, apud primævos iſtos, quibus mori lucrum credebatur, ſed aquæ luſtralis aſperſioni parata eſſe, declarat[d]. Quippe in priſcorum Chriſtianorum funeribus, neque Præficarum munus, neque vanam eam luctus oſtentationem adhibitam eſſe, veriſimile eſt, ſed dolorem ſolummodo talem, qualem natura exigit; quem ratio ſimul et religio coercent, quemque vitæ futuræ ſpes in gaudium quodammodo convertit. Sanctus Cyprianus, “ fratres mortuos deſiderari debere ait, non plan- “ gi——neque occaſionem dandam eſſe Gentilibus, ut nos “ merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum “ dicimus, ut extinctos, ut perditos lugeamus[e].” Sanctus “ item Hieronymus, de Paullæ Romanæ morte loquens, “ non “ ululatus, inquit, non planctus, ut inter ſeculi homines fieri “ ſolet, ſed pſalmorum linguis diverſis examina concrepabant[f].” In balneorum quoque antiquorum ruderibus, ejuſdem formæ ac moduli vaſcula, reperta nonnunquam cognovimus[g]: quæ non niſi odoribus, unguentiſque conſervandis inſerviiſſe, haud cuipiam dubium eſſe poteſt. In quem quidem uſum et hæc noſtra, et ejuſdem generis reliqua omnia, quæ vel in Gentilium, vel Chriſtianorum ſepulchris reperiantur, parata fuiſſe exiſtimo; perinde ac iſta quoque, de quibus, proximo loco, jam pauca quædam dicturus ſum.

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[b] Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 63. Beger. Theſaur. Brand. Tom. 3. p. 464. Cauſeus. Muſ. Rom. p. 108. Monument. Libertor. Liviæ Aug. p. 48. &c.

[c] Vaſculum ejuſdem fere generis ac formæ, atque unicum quidem, quod in Romæ veteris monumentis exſculptum unquam vidi, in ſacrificio quodam Priapi ſupra memorato, cernitur: e quo ſacerdos liquorem quendam odoratum forſitan, in Priapi faſcinum floribus ornatum, fundere videtur. Boiſſard. V. 1. par. 2.

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[d] Aringh. Rom. Subterran. Vol. 1. p. 502. Bonannius item, Jeſuita eruditiſſimus, “ Notandum eſt, inquit, ſimilia vaſa “ ſæpius etiam inveniri in ſepulchris “ Chriſtianorum, quæ tamen lacrymas “ continuiſſe, non eſt credendum. Muſ. “ Kircher. p. 115.

Jam mæſta quieſce querela,
Lacrymas ſuſpendite matres,
Nullus ſua pignora plangat,
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ eſt.

Prudent. Hymn. x. circa exequias. v. 125.

[e] Cypr. de Mortalitat.

[f] Epiſt. 86. Oper. T. 4. par. 2. p. 687. Edit. Bened.

[g] Bonann. Muſ. Kircher. Tab: 51. 7, 8. p. 184.

TABULA VII.

HÆc quatuor vaſcula, e vitro candidiſſimo confecta, atque in ſepulchro antiquo reperta, unguentis, ut modo dixi, odoribuſque in tumulum inferendis inſerviiſſe, ex eorum forma et magnitudine perſpicuum eſt. Mortuorum enim propinquos, certis quibuſdam diebus, ſepulchra eorum adire, cinereſque floribus, thure, ac odoribus reſpergere, et vaſcula, quibus iſta intuliſſent, cum odorum reſiduo aliquo in tumulo relinquere ſolitos, conſtat: de qua quidem conſuetudine, frequens admodum cum in libris tum monumentis veterum mentio occurrit.

> *Miſta bibunt molles lacrymis unguenta favillæ*[h]
> *Afferet huc unguenta mihi, ſertiſque ſepulchrum*
> *Ornabit cuſtos, ad mea buſta ſedens*[i].

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[h] Ovid. Faſt. 3. 561.

[i] Propert. l. 3. 15. De odoribus item hiſce, in marmoribus ſepulchralibus mentio frequens occurrit.

1.

D. M.
GEMINIAE. P. FIL.
MAXIMAE
STATVTA
ODORAMENTA.
EX. H-S. ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞
PRIMA. MATER.
MISERRIMA.
FILIAE. CARISSIMAE.
ANN. XVIII.

Gruter. p. 1122. 12.

2.

C. LAELIO. C. F. IV.
—— —— ——
—— —— ——
—— —— ——
FVSCA. MATER.
AD. LVCTVM. ET GEMITVM. RELICTA.
CVM. LACHRIMIS. ET OPOBALSA
MO. VDVM.
HOC. SEPULCHRO. CONDIDIT

Muſe. Kircher. p. 115.

Montfauconius, Inſcriptionis ſecundæ auctoritate inductus, liquidi genus quoddam *e lacrymis et opobalſamo* commixtum, in *phialas iſtas lacrymatorias*, ad mortuos reſpergendos condi ſolere, declarat. [Antiq. Vol. 5. l. 3. c. 7.] Sed nihil profecto aliud Inſcriptio ipſa indicare videtur, ac matrem largo fletu atque unguentis cadaver filii humectaſſe.

Ficcoronius urnam quandām grandem paucis abhinc annis Romæ repertam commemorat, ſupra quam viginti quatuor vaſcula fictilia, Ollulæ patellæ, pocilla, pulchre elaborata, poſita erant; quæ unguentis odoribuſque variis in tumulum inferendis comparata fuiſſe, cenſet[k]. Vaſculi quoque vitrei in alio ſepulchro reperti meminit, in quo liquoris etiam reſiduum aliquod inveniſſet[l]. Gorius etiam Florentinus, ſagax ille quidem fiduſque rerum antiquarum interpres, *liquores interdum in vaſculis his ſepulchralibus compertos eſſe,* ſcribit, quos odoratos olim fuiſſe arbitratur[m].

Sed permulta ſane ejuſdem generis vaſcula, e vitro pariter conflata, atque ex Chriſtianorum veterum ſepulchris eruta, in lucem edidit Aringhus; quæ, quia rubro fortaſſe, ſeu ſanguineo colore tincta reperiuntur. Martyrum ibi olim ſepultorum indicia jam a Papiſtis certiſſima eſſe creduntur[n], At vero hujuſmodi quoque omnia, unguentis odoribuſque condendis deſtinata eſſe, haud dubium eſt: quem quidem morem a Gentilibus ad Chriſtianos, vel priſcis iſtis ſeculis, traductum eſſe cognovimus. Tertullianus enim, plus odoramentorum a Chriſtianis profundi ſolere queritur, quam ab Ethnicis ipſis. “ Thura, inquit, plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ querantur, ſciant, pluris et carioris merces ſuas Chriſtianis ſepeliendis profligari, quam Diis fumigandis[o].” De hoc item ritu Prudentius,

Nos tecta fovebimus oſſa
Violis et fronde frequenti,
Titulumque et frigida ſaxa

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[k] Della Bolla d'Oro. p. 58, 59.

[l] Ibid. p. 66.

[m] Vid. Monument. Libertor. Liv. Aug. p. 49. it. Gruter Inſcript. p. 927. 5.

[n] Aringh. Rom. Subterran. Vol. 1. p. 496.

[o] Apologet. c. 42.

Liquido ſpargemus odore.
Aſperſaque myrrha Sabæo
Corpus medicamine ſervat[p].

TABULA VIII.

De Lucernis jam ſepulchralibus, quarum tres fictiles, et unam quoque æneam, e ſepulchris veterum erutas, hic delineatas damus, nonnihil dicendum eſt. Nam etſi hoc argumentum a viris eruditis exhauſtum plane videatur, qui innumeras fere Lucernarum harum figuras e muſeis ſuis deſcriptas ediderunt, de noſtris tamen, quatenus proprium ſaltem aliquid, aut notatu dignum præbeant, pauca etiam quædam diſſerenda eſſe, duxi.

Lucernas equidem, et in omnibus veterum ſepulchris poſitas eſſe, et in omnibus pariter, quæ vel hodie etiam fodiendo aut caſu aliquo Romæ detegantur, repertas eſſe, notiſſimum eſt. Etenim Romani, ut ſupra dictum eſt, certis quibuſdam diebus, mortuis juſta facere, inferiaſque Diis Manibus, et ſacra quædam gentilitia in tumulum inferre conſueverunt. Hinc Aræ in ſepulchris conditæ, urnæque ipſæ ſepulchrales, ararum ſæpe forma exſtructæ, atque ararum nomine vocatæ[q]: atque hinc in ſepulchrorum titulis, *itus*, *aditus*, *ambitus* ad ſacra iſta facienda dari memorantur[r].

In ſepulchrorum autem eorum cameris, ſubterraneis plerumque et tenebricoſis, ad ritus eos peragendos, lucernis opus fuiſſe, neceſſe eſt: atque hinc in marmoribus ſepulchralibus, de Lucernis et Lychnuchis penſilibus in ſepulchris poſitis, mentionem interdum factam invenimus[s]: et libertatem etiam ſervis, ea conditione donatam, ut *in monumento, alternis menſibus, lucernam accenderent*[t].

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[p] Cathemerin. Hymn. x. v. 177. it. v. 59.

[q] Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 107, 108, 719. it. Monument. Libertor. Liv. Aug. p. 42.

[r] Fabrett. p. 265, 293, &c. it. Gruter. 855. 3.

De Lucernis noſtris, Prima, nullis licet figuris aut ſculptura ornata, forma tamen eleganti et perbella, atque ex ære conflata eſt.

SECT. II.

SEcunda, Cupidinis Hirco inſidentis effigiem exhibet; cui haud aliam unquam ſimilem me vidiſſe memini. In picturis equidem ſepulchralibus, Cupidines, Genioſve alatos, cum Hircis ſeſe exercentes ludenteſque animadverti; puerorumque luſus varios, in ſepulchris veterum, et coloribus pictos, et e marmore fictos vidi[u]. Tamen quid iſtiuſmodi figmenta ſibi velint, quidve nobis indicent, mihi ſane nequaquam liquet: quorum pleraque fortaſſe nonniſi loci ornandi cauſa, pro artificis arbitrio excogitata erant. Cum vero Hircum, apud omnes fere gentes, tanquam laſciviæ ac libinis ſymbolum, habitum eſſe conſtet, haud ſcio, an hac Cupidinis Hirco inſidentis imagine admoneamur, eos videlicet omnes, qui amoris laſcivi ac libidinoſi impulſu agantur, ad mortem immaturam præcipites ferri.

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[s] Monument. Libert. p. 50, 51. it. Gruter. 1143.

[t] Guther. de Jur. Manium. l. 2. c. xi. Gorius Florentinus, qui de monumento *Libertorum et ſervorum* Liviæ Auguſtæ, Romæ haud dudum reperto, librum perpulchrum edidit, ad ſingula monumenti iſtius *Columbaria*, *Lucernas ſingulas* olim appenſas fuiſſe, dicit. Vid. Monument. ibid.

[u] Vid. Sepolch. Naſon. Append. Tab. 3. it. Ollas, ſarcophagoſque a Boiſſardo et Montfauconio delineatos———

SECT. III.

TErtia, Cupreſſis hinc et inde exſculptis, decorata eſt; quas in aliis item Lucernis, perinde ac Ollis ſarcophagiſque eodem ſæpe modo expreſſas eſſe dixi, quo ritus ſcilicet iſte, ſupra memoratus, arborem eam ad mortuorum fores ponendi indicetur[x].

SECT. IV.

QUarta vero, ex Agni effigie, qua inſignitur, ad Chriſtianorum veterum uſum aliquem pertinuiſſe, apparet. Etenim priſcis iſtis Eccleſiæ temporibus, Chriſti imago ſub agni ſpecie ac ſymbolo pingi ſolebat: nec ante Conſtantini magni ævum, ulla ejus ad crucem affixi effigies, ut Aringhus, auctor ſane pius et eruditus, declarat, Gentilium unquam oculis oblata fuit; ne probrum inde aliquod in religionem Chriſtianam derivatum foret, "Quapropter eorum temporum imbe-
"cillitati, uti ait, caute et pro animi viribus proſpicientes,
"crucem duntaxat, ſuppreſſa Chriſti imagine, fingebant—et
"agnum interdum ſub ipſa cruce conſiſtentem affabre pinge-
"bant. De quo etiam Paulinus,

Sub cruce ſanguinea niveo ſtat Chriſtus in Agno,
Agnus, ut innocua injuſto datur hoſtia letho[y].

In cujus rei teſtimonium picturam item vetuſtiſſimam, e Cœmeterio antiquo, Aringhus profert, in quo *Agnus crucem ba-*

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[x] Vid. Lucern. Antich. Da. P. Bartoli. Par. 1. Tab. xi, 13. it Boiſſard et Montfauc.

[y] Aringh. Rom. Subterran. Vol. 2. p. 557.

culo affixam, vexilli ad inſtar, gerens depingitur[z]. Duoſque præterea alios, e Cœmeterio Calliſti, agnos affabre pictos exhibet, quorum uterque baculum paſtorale, cum vaſculo quodam appenſo, geſtat[a]: quibus Chriſti perſona, tanquam Paſtor bonus, *agnuſque ab origine mundi occiſus*, ſymbolice ſignificari intelligitur. Agni vero typus, in Lucerna noſtra, perinde ac in aliis quibuſdam expreſſus, ex iſtis Apoſtoli verbis deſumptus plane videtur; *Lucerna ejus eſt Agnus*[b].

Quod hæ vero Lucernæ a Chriſtianis æque ac Gentilibus ad ſepulchrorum ritus celebrandos adhibitæ eſſent, ab omnibus traditum accepimus. Aringhus, innumerabiles fere, vel in uno Sancti Calliſti Cœmeterio, Romæ repertas eſſe, teſtatur; quarum figuras etiam permultas harum rerum ſtudioſis contemplandas exhibet[c]: atque oleum earum, e martyrum ſepulchris deſumptum, miracula quædam edidiſſe, morboſque ſanaſſe, ſcriptorum veterum teſtimonio confirmat[d]. Lucernas denique iſtas in eundem finem a Chriſtianis, ac a Gentilibus antea uſurpatas eſſe, perſpicuum eſt; ſcilicet, ut in Cœmeteriis ſuis tenebricoſis, pia quædam officia, ſeu ſacra anniverſaria defunctis præſtarent; vigiliaſque præſertim, pro temporum iſtorum conſuetudine, ad Martyrum tumulos agerent. Ubi nonnulli etiam, ut Sanctus Ambroſius queritur, "pocula ſecum deferre, atque "in veſperam uſque bibere ſolebant, neque aliter ſe exaudiri "poſſe credebant——O ſtultitiam hominum, inquit, qui "ebrietatem ſacrificium putant: quique æſtimant illis ebrie"tatem placere, qui jejunio paſſionem ſuſtinere dedicerunt[e]."

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[z] Ibid. p. 559.

[a] Id. V. 1. 557.

[b] Apocal. c. xxi. v. 23.

[c] Vol. 1. p. 510.

[d] Ibid. p. 89.

[e] De Elia et Jejun. c. 17.

SECT.

SECT. V.

IN ſepulchris item veterum, Olliſque oſſuariis, res ejuſmodi omnes, quæ defunctis, cum viverent, in deliciis fuiſſent, quaſque ornatus præſertim gratia geſtaſſent, una cum cineribus eorum condi ſolitas cognovimus; puerulorum ſcilicet *crepundia, Bullas, anulos aureos*; *mulierum inaures, monilia*, &c. quæ propinquorum pietas, parentumque maxime erga liberos caritas, in mortuorum honorem Diis Manibus dicare ſolebant. Quam quidem conſuetudinem, etſi a nullo, quod ſciam, ſcriptore antiquo memoratam, Romæ tamen univerſum fere obtinuiſſe conſtat; uti rebus ipſis, quæ ex ſepulchrorum veterum ruinis quotidie effodiuntur, aperte demonſtratur.

Ficcoronius, in ruinis iſtis perſcrutandis omnium ſane verſatiſſimus, ſe anulos permultos aureos, et gemmis quidem inſignitos, una cum oſſibus et puerorum, et virorum etiam ac fœminarum, in Ollis reconditos inveniſſe ſcribit [f]. De quo genere duos iſtos in hac Tabula deſcriptos, a puerulis olim geſtatos, atque in ſepulchris eorum repertos ab eo accepi; quorum alter Deæ Cybeles imaginem, ex auro ipſo exſculptam; alter vero Cupidinis, Delphini dorſo inſidentis, figuram, in Jaſpide rubra, in anuli orbiculum inſerta, inſculptam exhibet.

Hanc eandem Cupidinis figuram, Delphinum frœno ac flagello regentis, in gemmis monumentiſque antiquis ſæpiſſime inſculptum videmus [g]. Quam quidem plerique, Amoris in utrumque elementum, in maria ſcilicet perinde ac terras imperium, denotare cenſent; ſecundum vetus iſtud de conſimili quadam mimagine Epigramma.

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[f] In libro Della Bolla D'Oro, &c. p. 54, 57, 58, 60, 64.

[g] Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Domenico De Roſſi. Vol. 3. Tab. 16, 17, 18.

Οὐδὲ μάτην παλάμαις κατέχει Δελφῖνα ϗ ἄνθος,
Τῇ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, τῇδε θάλασσαν ἔχει[h].
Nec fruſtra manibus florem ac Delphina coercet,
Illa etenim terras, hac tenet oceanum.

Nonnulli autem nihil aliud figuris hiſce ſignificari exiſtimant, ac ſingularem piſcis hujus erga hominum genus benevolentiam; puerorumque præcipue amores, quibus Delphini flagrare credebantur; quorumque exempla quædam inſignia ac mirifica a veteribus memoriæ prodita ſunt[i].

Ex anuli noſtri forma, lapidiſque inſigendi ratione, colligere licet, quam in gemmis in anulos inſerendis, imperiti ac rudes, vel florentiſſimis Reipublicæ temporibus, artifices iſti Romani, præ noſtrorum hominum ſollertia fuerint. Etenim anuli orbiculum ab ima parte gradatim amplificare ſolebant; quoad pars ejus ſumma, qua gemma includenda erat, quæ Pala dicebatur, magnitudinem gemmæ, quantacunque fuerit, intra orbiculi cavitatem excipere poterat: unde anulos ſæpenumero, ob gemmarum magnitudinem et pondus, deformes moleſtoſque fuiſſe, neceſſe eſt[k]. Horum ego nonnullos uſque ad hæc tempora conſervatos vidi, atque unum quidem cui S. Pompeii caput, una cum ſculptoris nomine, in Sarda eximie inſculptum erat: cujus etiam figura ectypa, inter præſtantiores ſculpturæ veteris reliquias, a Dominico Roſſi Romano in lucem edita eſt[l].

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[h] Antholog. l. 4. c. 12.——Hæc rei interpretatio ab Euripidis loco quodam, a Clemente Alexandrino citato, confirmatur.

Ἔρως γὰρ ἄνδρας ȣ̓ μόνȣς ἐπέρχεται
Οὐδ᾽ αὖ γυνάικας, ἀλλὰ ϗ θεῶν ἄνω
Ψυχὰς ταράσσει, κἀπὶ πόντον ἔρχεται.

Amor enim non viros tantum neque fœminas etiam aggreditur; ſed et ſuperorum quoque animos commovet, atque ad infera maris deſcendit.—Strom. lib. 6. p. 745. Edit. Oxon.

[i] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 9. c. 8. A. Gellius l. 7, 8. Plutarch. de induſtr. Animal.

[k] Ficcoronius, ſe anulos interdum aureos in ſepulchris antiquis inveniſſe dicit, quorum alii ſex, alii decem Zecchinos, (hoc eſt, monetæ Anglicæ tres circiter aut quinque guineas) auri pondere exæquarunt. [L. L. p. 64, 67.] Hinc Iſidorus, multi, inquit, *Romanorum pro gravitate anulum in digito geſtare abſtinuerunt.* [Orig. l. 19. c. 32.] Jam alii, inquit Plinius, *pondera eorum oſtentant.* l. 33. 1.

Anulos hoſce *morientibus olim religione quadam detrahi ſolitos* a veteribus traditum eſt[m]: Quod haud ob aliam fortaſſe cauſam factum erat, quam ut cadaver, anulis detractis, lavari commodius, ungique poſſet, vel ne a Pollinctoribus furtim abriperentur: nam ex iis, quæ ſupra dixi, apparet eoſdem mortuis poſtea reſtitutos, atque in ſepulchris plerumque conditos fuiſſe; niſi quod in rogum interdum, ut a Propertio indicatur, conjecti, combuſtique eſſent.

Et ſolitum digito Berillon adederat ignis[n].

SECT. VI.

INaures etiam, uti dixi, una cum cineribus, in ſepulchris Olliſque oſſuariis, condi ſolere certiſſimum eſt: quarum quidem unam, e ſepulchro veteri erutam, mihique Romæ donatam, in hac etiam Tabula delineatam cernimus. De inauribus, frequens ſane apud ſcriptores antiquos mentio occurrit; quos de mulierum ſuarum luxu, ſumptuque in auribus ornandis immani, querentes ſæpe invenimus. " Quare uxor tua, " inquit Seneca, locupletis domus cenſum auribus gerit[o]? " neque in alia parte, ait Plinius, fœminis majus impendium, " margaritis dependentibus[p]: ac rurſus; quo magis admirari " ſubit, unionem in maris rubri profundo, ſmaragdum in " ima tellure quæri. Ad hoc excogitata ſunt aurium vulnera:

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[l] Gemm. Antich. Vol. 1. Tab. 6.

[m] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 33. 1. Vid. Kirchman. de anulis. c. 22. qui de hoc argumento libellum ſumma eruditione refertum edidit.

[n] Propert. l. 4. El. 7.

[o] De Vit. beat. c. 17.

[p] Hiſt. Nat. l. xi, c. 37.

" nimirum

“ nimirum quoniam parum erat, collo crinibuſque geſtari, “ niſi infoderentur etiam corpori[a].”

In hac noſtri inauri, lapillum quendam rubrum & pellucidum, ſive Rubinus fuerit, ſive vitrum ſolummodo rubro colore tinctum, in auro inſertum videmus; atque in vitro ipſo, Gallum Gallinaceum opere encauſtico affabre depictum; margaritamque inde, qua inaurium maxime decus ac pretium conſtituebatur, ex aurea catenula pendentem: quæ quidem verum illud eſſe oſtendit, quod de hoc Margaritarum genere Plinius ſcribit; *ſenecta nimirum eas flaveſcere, rugiſque torpeſcere; nec niſi juventa vigorem illum, qui quæritur obtinere*[b].

Margaritis autem, ſive unionibus, ut vocabantur, inaures fere omnes ornatiores, inſtructas eſſe liquet; quas, ob rei ſimilitudinem, *baccas* etiam a poetis appellatas legimus.

Nec ſit marita, quæ rotundioribus
onuſta baccis ambulet[c].
Aure leves baccæ, redimicula pectore pendent[d].

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[a] Ibid. l. 12. Procem. quæ hoc loco a Plinio, *aurium vulnera*, a Juvenale, *molles in aure feneſtræ*, vocantur. Sat. 1. 104.

[b] Ibid. l. 9. 35.

[c] Hor. Epod. 8.

[d] Ovid. Met. l. x. 264. Quia baccæ autem iſtæ guttarum etiam formam præ ſe ferebant, inaures ipſas a priſcis ſcriptoribus, græca voce, *Stalagmia*, dictas invenimus; eodem ſcilicet ſenſu, ac a noſtris hodie Drops; *diſtillantes enim hiberno gelu ſtirias, ſtalagmias*, vocabant. Plin. l. 34. 12. uti a Cæcilio apud Feſtum, [in voce]

Jam ex aure ejus Stalagmium domi habeo.

Atq; a Plauto itidem; Menæc. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

Amabo, mi Menæchme, inaures da mihi
Faciundas, pondo duum nummum Stalagmia.

Hæc duorum nummûm, parvuli ſane pretii, Stalagmia, ænea certe fuerunt cujus quidem generis inaurem, in Muſeo Sanctæ Genevievæ Pariſienſis, deſcriptam videmus; anulum ſcilicet æneum, ex quo in aurem inſerto, tres baccæ, ſive guttæ vitreæ dependent. p. 33. c. 15. at baccas etiam ipſas interdum æneas fuiſſe, ex Ovidio diſcimus

—— —— *parilique ex ære nitebant*
Auribus in geminis circum cava tempora baccæ.
Met. x. 115.

De hoc autem argumento, conſule Gaſp. Bartholinum de Inaurib. qui omnia ſane, quæ ad illud illuſtrandum pertinent, in opuſculum ſuum eruditum accurate congeſſit.

Alia tamen erat, et pretioſior illa quidem, unionum ſpecies, quos Elenchos vocabant: “ faſtigiata, uti Plinius ait, longitu- “ dine et alabaſtrorum figura, in pleniorem orbem deſinentes; “ quorum binos aut ternos auribus ſuſpendere, ceu ſono quo- “ que et colliſu ipſo margaritarum gauderent, fœminarum glo- “ riam eſſe dicit[e].”

> *Nil non permittit mulier ſibi; turpe putat nil,*
> *Cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit, et cum*
> *Auribus extentis magnos commiſit elenchos*[f].

De his etiam Seneca, “ video uniones, inquit, non ſingulos “ ſingulis auribus comparatos; jam enim exercitatæ aures oneri “ ferendo ſunt: junguntur inter ſe, et inſuper alii binis ſuper- “ ponuntur. Non ſatis muliebris inſania viros ſubjecerat, “ niſi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus ſingulis pependiſſent[g].”

Hos igitur uniones ſive elenchos, qui noſtris jam temporibus plane jacent, a Romanis tamen ſummo in pretio habitos, et gemmis fere omnibus antelatos eſſe apparet. *Principium*, inquit Plinius, *culmenque omnium rerum pretii margaritæ tenent. Indicus maxime has mittit oceanus——dos earum omnis in candore, magnitudine, orbe, lævore, pondere*[h]: quæ vero in his rebus omnibus præſtabant, immenſi pretii æſtimabantur. Hinc celebris iſta hiſtoriola de margarita ex aure Metellæ detracta, ab Horatio et Plinio celebrata.

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[e] Hiſt. Nat. l. 9. 35.

[f] Juven. Sat. 1. 456. Hos elenchos, uti a Plinio deſcribuntur, *faſtigiata longitudine et in pleniorem orbem deſinentes*, nonniſi Pyri formam habuiſſe conſtat. De quo quidem genere, Ficcoronius, ſe Inaures duas aureas in urna quadam inveniſſe ſcribit, e quibus *duo Smaragdi in Pyrorum ſpeciem conformati dependebaut*. In libro della Bolla d'Oro &c. p. 60. *Due Orecchini d'Oro, legatevi due Smeraldi fatti a pera.*—

[g] De Benef. 7. 9. Ex hoc inaurium luxu, inter Domus Auguſtæ miniſteria, AVRICVLAE ORNATRICES in Inſcriptionibus antiquis recenſeri videmus. Quibus inaurium ſcilicet cuſtodiam curamque omnem commiſſam eſſe veriſimile eſt. Vid. Grut. p. 579. 2, 3.

[h] Hiſt. Nat. 9. 35.

Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies ſolidum exſorberet, aceto
Diluit inſignem baccam[i].

Vitellius etiam, in Germaniam a Galba miſſus, et rei familiaris inopia laborans, *unionem ab aure matris detractum ad itineris impenſas pignoraviſſe* traditur[k]. Atque Alexander Severus, “ quum Regis exteri Legatus quidam uxori ſuæ uniones duos, “ magni ponderis et inuſitatæ menſuræ, obtuliſſet, vendi eos “ juſſit. Qui quum pretium non invenirent, ne exemplum “ malum a regina naſceretur, ſi eo uteretur, quod emi non “ poſſet, inauribus Veneris eos dicavit[l].

Haud tamen credendum eſt, veteres iſtos in luctu ita dementes fuiſſe, ut inaures illas inſigniores, in defunctorum tumulos abjicerent, ſed vulgares potius quaſdam et quotidianas; quales illæ ſane omnes eſſe apparent, quas ex variis eruditorum muſeis a Montfauconio collectas, ac delineatas videmus[m]: quarum nulla profecto, aut opere, aut materia aut pretio, huic noſtræ anteferenda videtur.

TABULA IX.

Prima Tabulæ hujus figura operculum libelli veteris eburneum exhibet: hujuſmodi vero libelli, Pugillares appellabantur; quos quidem Romani, ſive litteris ſive negotiis dediti eſſent, ſecum circumferre ſolebant, ut quicquid ſibi, vel meditantibus vel agentibus, notatu dignum occurreret, illud ſtatim perſcribere atque notare poſſent: nam ad notas breves excipiendas, pugillares potiſſimum adhibitos eſſe, conſtat.

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[i] Sat. l. 2. 3. 239. Decies ſolidûm, Baccæ hujus pretium, octo millia librarum Anglicarum et paullo plus valuiſſe putatur.

[k] Sueton. in Vit. c. 7.

[l] Lamprid. c. 15.

[m] Vid. Antiqu. Vol. 3. l. 2. c. 3.

Puer notarum præpetum
Sollers miniſter, advola.
Bipatens Pugillar expedi,
Cui multa fandi copia,
Punctis peracta ſingulis[n]. &c.

Venor aliquando, inquit Plinius, *ſed non ſine pugillaribus*[o]; nam inter venandum, dum ſocii ejus apros perſequebantur, *ipſe*, ut ad Tacitum ſcribit, *ad retia ſedebat*; *non venabulum aut lanceam, ſed ſtylum et pugillares in proximo tenens, meditanſque aliquid ac enotans, ut ſi manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportaret*[p].

Pugillarium horum folia ex rebus variis effecta fuerunt: maxima pars, *e laminis ligneis, cera illitis,* in quibus ſtylo ſcribebatur, nonnulla tamen ex ebore, membranis, aut plumbo. De Citreis item, membraneis atque eburneis, epigrammata quædam Martialis extant. Plumbei vero in Sarcophago antiquo reperti effigiem, huic noſtræ haud abſimilem, a doctiſſimo Bonannio deſcriptam cernimus; cui ſeptem laminæ, ſeu folia plumbea, litteris referta erant: ſed quia nullus omnino ſenſus ex litteris iſtis elici poterat, librum ipſum ad Taliſmanorum claſſem referendum, atque *ad Manes fortaſſe placandos, Dæmoneſve fugandos in Sarcophago iſto reconditum eſſe, vir ille eruditus cenſet*[q].

Noſter autem pugillaris an ob eandem cauſam in ſepulchro conditus fuerit, haud facile dixerim; ſed in Familiæ Paſſienæ ſepulchro, juxta viam Appiam, anno 1710, Romæ repertus fuit. Folia ei quidem membrana erant, ſed ita lacera penitus ac vetuſtate abſumpta, ut nihil inde aliud colligi poſſet, ac quod litteræ in eis olim perſcriptæ, latinæ eſſent. Pugillaris ejuſdemmodi figuram, in monumento mulieris ſepulchrali inſculptam,

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[n] Auſon. Epigr. 146.

[o] Epiſt. l. 9. 36.

[p] Ib. l. 1. 6.

[q] Muſeum Kircher. p. 180. Tab. 60.

ptam, apud Fabrettum videre licet; ex qua ſcilicet vir doctus, mulierem iſtam *notarum deſcribendarum ſtudio ac ſollertia* præſtitiſſe, indicatum eſſe putat[r]. In inſcriptione quoque antiqua apud Gruterum, T. quidam Tarfenius, inter alia multa, Municipibus Rheginis teſtamento donata, *Pugillares membranaceos, operculis eboreis* legaſſe dicitur[s].

SECT. II.

SEcunda figura, ex ære conflata, Tibicinis ſpeciem quandam ſingularem, atque ex omnibus, quas vidi, Tibicinum Imagunculis, unicam plane, præ ſe fert. Qui hujuſmodi Tibiis canebant, vel græco nomine Aſcaulai, vel Utricularii, a ſcriptoribus Romanis vocantur[t]. Has autem Tibias, etſi raro admodum a veteribus memoratas, quippe quæ plebeculæ potiſſimum in pretio fuerint, antiquiſſimas tamen eſſe, Cæſarumque ſaltem temporibus, ad ludos et convivia adhiberi ſolitas accepimus. Quippe Nero, ut Suetonius ſcribit, cum Muſicorum genus omne, in ſua quemque arte ac inſtrumento, cantando ſuperare ſtuderet, *ſub exitu vitæ palam voverat, ſe, ludis publicis, proditurum etiam Utricularium*[u]

Tibicinis noſtri os, perſona ſcenica tectum, veſtituſque mimicus, haud artis ſuæ proprius, ſed ad riſum jocumque plane accommodatus, hominem ex illo γελωτοποιῶν Ludionum, Morionumve grege fuiſſe oſtendit, qui ad hilaritatem in conviviis excitandam a divitibus adhiberi ſolebant. Luxus hujus originem Livius ab Aſia devicta deducit; *tunc Pſaltriæ*, inquit, *Sambuciſtriæque et convivalia Ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis*[w]. De quibus epularum oblectamentis, exſtat Epiſtola quædam Plinii ad Genitorem ſuum, quæ ab argumento noſtro haud aliena videtur.

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[r] Vid. Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 206.

[s] Vid. Gruter. p. 174. 7.

[t] Martial. l. x. 3. Utriculi, ſive Tibiæ Utricularis figuras et Pignorius et Montfauconius ediderunt: ſed Tibicinis Utricularii Imagunculam, neque in rerum antiquarum collectionibus recenſitam, neque in libris unquam deſcriptam animadverti. Vid. Pign. de Servis. p. 82. Montf. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 8. c. 2.

[u] Suet. Ner. c. 54. Inſcriptionem antiquam L. IVLIO SECUNDO VTRICVLARIO dicatam apud Gutherium legimus: de Jur. Manium. l. 2. c. 12.] Atque apud Gruterum, de VTRICVLARIORVM etiam Corporibus ſeu Collegiis, in Coloniis conſtitutis, Inſcriptiones quædam extant, quæ tamen non ad Tibicinum noſtrorum gregem, ſed ad Nautarum ſeu Piſcatorum genus quoddam referendæ ſunt, quorum lintres ſeu naviculæ, Utriculi etiam vocabantur. [Vid. Grut. p. 547, 649. 448.]

" Accepi tuas litteras, quibus quereris, tædio tibi fuiſſe " quamvis lautiſſimam cœnam, quia Scurræ, Cinædi, Moriones menſis inerrabant. Vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis? " Equidem nihil tale habeo, habentes tamen fero. Cur ergo " non habeo? quia nequaquam me ut inexpectatum feſtivumve delectat, ſi quid molle a Cinædo, petulans a Scurra, " ſtultum a Morione profertur. Non rationem ſed ſtomachum " tibi narro. Atque adeo quam multos putas eſſe, quos æque " ea, quibus ego et tu capimur et ducimur, partim ut inepta, " partim ut moleſtiſſima offendant? quam multi, cum lector, " aut lyriſtes, aut Comœdus inductus eſt, calceos poſcunt, " aut non minori cum tædio recubant, quam tu iſta, (ſic " enim appellas) prodigia perpeſſus es? Demus igitur alienis " oblectationibus veniam, ut noſtris impetremus. Vale[x]."

Alexander Severus, ut a Lampridio ſcriptum legimus, *Nanos et Nanas, et Moriones et Vocales exoletos, et omnia acroamata et Pantomimos, quæ Eliogabali ad menſam miniſteria fuiſſent, populo donavit*[y]. Martialis autem Morionem quendam deſcribens, *acuto capite, auribuſque longis*, ad hanc Tibicinis noſtri figuram fere alludere videtur.

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[w] Lib. 39. c. 6. [x] Epiſt. l. 9. 17. [y] In Alex. Sev. c. 34.

Hunc vero acuto capite, et auribus longis,
Quæ ſic moventur, ut ſolent Aſellorum,
Quis Morionis filium neget Gyrthæ[z]*?*

In hac autem γελωτοποιῶν claſſe, de Mimaulis etiam mentionem factam animadverti: quo nomine mimorum genus quoddam denotari videtur, qui vel ad tibiam geſtus agere, vel tibia ſimul canere et geſticulari ſolebant: atque de hoc genere figuras quaſdam Scenicas, fiſtula canentes, et geſtu ſimul ridiculo ſaltantes, in marmoribus interdum antiquis, exſculptas invenimus[a].

Hoc denique Ludionum genus omne, quo partes ſuas, in conviviis, ludiſque publicis, commodius ageret, ſaleſque et dicteria in vulgus liberius ſpargeret, perſonæ cooperimento tectum prodiiſſe conſtat. Permultas ſane perſonarum harum figuras, e veterum monumentis deſumptas, a viris eruditis in lucem editas videmus; quarum pleræque eadem plane forma, ac Utricularii noſtri perſona, eſſe apparent: qualeſque a Varrone et Luciano, *Perſonæ iſtæ antiquæ* deſcribuntur; *diſtortis ſcilicet oribus deformes, ac immane quiddam hiantes, quaſi ſpectatores devoraturæ*[b]*:* atque hinc infantibus eas puerulisque terrori ſemper fuiſſe legimus.

Cum perſonæ pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat ruſticus infans[c].

SECT. III.

Tertia iſta, ex ære itidem Imaguncula, ſervi ad menſam miniſtrantis, ſeu Pocillatoris antiqui effigiem exhibet;

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[z] Epig. l. 6. 39.

[a] Vid. Dempſter. Etrur. Antiq. T. 1. p. 413.

[b] Varr. de lign. lat. l. 6. it. Lucian. Dial. de Saltatione.

[c] Juven. Sat. 3. 175.

eo prorſus habitu, quo Servuli divitum Triclinarii, cum a ſcriptoribus deſcripti, tum in marmoribus ficti reperiuntur. Pueri ſcilicet formoſi et delicatuli, pulchre calamiſtrati, tuniciſque nitidis, ad genus uſque ſuccincti.

> —— —— *ut omnes*
> *Præcincti recte pueri, comptique miniſtrent*[d].

Immanem nempe Romanorum veterum luxum, in ſervorum iſtiuſmodi numero ac delectu, ſcriptores fere omnes commemorant, ac nonnulli graviter reprehendunt. Apuleius cœnam Fotidis deſcribens, " Diribitores, inquit, pluſculi, ſplendide " amicti, fercula copioſa, puellæ ſcitulæ miniſtrantes; pueri " calamiſtrati, pulchre induſiati, gemmas formatas in pocula " vini vetuſti frequenter offerentes[e]. Convivia mehercule " horum, inquit Seneca, non poſuerim inter vacantia tem- " pora, cum videam quam ſoliciti argentum ordinent; quam " diligenter exoletorum ſuorum tunicas ſuccingant;—— " Quanta celeritate, ſigno dato, glabri ad miniſteria diſcur- " rant[f]." Alio etiam loco, " Quæris, inquit, quam paribus " miniſteriis et levibus afferatur cibus?——ambitioſa non eſt " fames——et ſi pertinere ad te judicas, quam crinitus puer, " et quam perlucidum tibi poculum porrigat, non ſitis[g]."

Philo vero Judæus, dum in mollem iſtum ac delicatulum ſervorum, in Tricliniis miniſtrantium, gregem invehitur, hunc ipſum Pocillatoris noſtri ornatum depingere pæne videtur. " Adſunt, inquit, Servi miniſtrantes, pulcherrimi illi quidem " et formoſiſſimi; quaſi non tam miniſtrandi, quam convivas " aſpectu ſuo delectandi gratia, adhibiti. Ex his minores

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[d] Hor. Sat. l. 2. 8. v. 70.
Aſtabat Domini menſis pulcherrimus ille
Marmorea fundens nigra Falerna manu.
Martial. l. 8. 56.

[e] Metamorph. l. 2. p. 52.

[f] Sen. de Brev. Vit. c. 12.

[g] Id. Epiſt. 119.

“ natu pueri vinum fundunt, majores aquam afferunt; loti,
“ glabrique, vultu fucato, capilliſque in cincinnulos eleganter
“ plexis. Comam enim alunt, vel omnino intonſi, vel a
“ fronte tantum præſectis in orbem crinibus. Tenuiſſimas,
“ candidaſque præcincti tunicas, anteriore parte ad genua
“ demiſſas, poſteriore aliquantulum infra poplites, utramque
“ partem tæniis duplicatis, ſecundum commiſſuras tunicæ,
“ adſtringentes: ſinus ex lateribus in altum tollentes ſeu ventilantes;
“ ac tunicæ latera dilatantes ad munera attenti convivas
“ obſervant. Adſunt etiam alii adoleſcentes, vix prima lanugine
“ effloreſcentes, amatorum nuper ſuorum deliciæ, atque
“ ad miniſteria graviora diligenter admodum exercitati: Dominorum
“ opulentiæ, uti illi quidem, qui eis utuntur, exiſtimant,
“ ut vero ſeſe res habet, ſtultitiæ oſtentatio[h].

Ex hoc Servorum grege, Pueros Alexandrinos, Romanis omnium maxime in deliciis fuiſſe conſtat. Quippe qui natura dicaces, jociſque et ſalibus dediti erant, artibuſque etiam iſtis, quibus convivæ inter cœnandum delectari ſolent, cantandi præſertim et ſaltandi plerumque inſtructi. “ Tandem ergo
“ diſcubuimus, inquit Petronius, pueris Alexandrinis aquam
“ in manus nivatam infundentibus, aliiſque inſequentibus ad
“ pedes; ac paronychia cum ingenti ſubtilitate tollentibus.
“ Ac ne in hoc quidem tam moleſto tacebant officio, ſed obiter
“ cantabant[i], &c.”

Horum puerorum Mercator quidam celebris, Auguſti ætate, Thoranius floruit, Imperatori ipſi familiaris[k]: de quo Plinius hanc hiſtoriolam narrat; “ Thoranius, inquit, M. Antonio “ jam Triumviro, eximios forma pueros, alterum in Aſia “ genitum, alterum trans Alpes, ut geminos vendidit; tanta “ unitas erat. Poſtquam deinde, ſermone puerorum detecta “ fraude, a furente increpitus Antonio eſt; inter alia magni-“ tudinem pretii conquerenti (nam ducentis mercatus erat “ ſeſtertiis) reſpondit verſutus ingenii Mango, ob id ipſum ſe “ tandi vendidiſſe; quoniam non eſſet mira ſimilitudo in ullis “ eodem utero editis; diverſarum quidem gentium natales “ tam concordi figura reperiri, ſuper omnem eſſe taxatio-“ nem[l].” Alius ejuſdem Thoranii jocus in Auguſtum ipſum illudentis, a Macrobio traditur. “ Auguſtus nimirum delec-“ tatus inter cœnam Symphoniacis Thoranii, frumento eos “ donaverat; cum in alia acroamata[m] nummis fuiſſet libe-“ ralis: eoſdem igitur poſtea quærenti inter cœnam Cæſari, “ Thoranius ſic excuſavit; *ad molam ſunt*[n].”

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[h] Phil. de Vit. Contemplat. Gper. Vol. 2. p. 479. Edit. Londini.

[i] Petron. Arbit. p. 96. it. p. 121. De mancipiis, hiſce item Statius, [Silv. l. 5. 5.——v. 66.]

Non ego mercatus Pharia de puppe loquaces
Delicias, doctumve ſui convicia Nili
Infantem, linguaque ſimul, ſalibuſque protervum.

[k] Adultas ætate virgines denudarent et perſpicerent, tanquam Thoranio Mangone vendente. Sueton. Aug. c. 69.

Pocillator noſter altera manu lancem, altera poculum in effigiem cornu formatum tenet, cujus ima tamen pars in animalis cujuſdam ſpeciem deſinit. Etenim pocula, ab antiquiſſimis temporibus, ex animalium cornibus affecta eſſe legimus: cujus quidem generis nonnulla etiam hodie in curioſorum armariis reperiuntur: neque alia omnino, Pocillares hoſce, quorum Imagunculas mihi videre contigit, manibus unquam tenuiſſe animadverti[o]. Hinc Bachus ipſe ab antiquis corniger fingebatur; non, ut Feſtus ait, quod homines nimio vino truces fiant; ſed, ut Athenæus, quod e cornibus bibere ſolerent[p]. Quem quidem bibendi morem, apud Græcos obtinuiſſe ex Xenophonte diſcimus, qui ſe ſociosque ſuos ab expeditione Perſica reverſos apud *Paphlagones, Thraceſque vinum e cornibus largiter bibiſſe*, commemorat[q]. Philippus item Macedo, cum benigne aliquos excipere vellet, e cornu illis propinaſſe fertur. Sed poculorum horum labra, argento aurove plerumque cooperta, ac cornua item ipſa ex argento interdum ſolido conflata eſſe dicuntur: quorum fabricam uſumque Athenæus, qui M. Aurelii temporibus floruit, uſque ad ſuam ætatem manſiſſe, ſcribit[r].

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[l] Hiſt. N. l. 7. c. 12.

[m] Acroama, vox græca eſt, latinitate donata, quæ lepidi aut feſtivi aliquid, quod in conviviis recitari aut cantari ſolebat; ſignificat; nec non homines interdum ipſos qui recitabant, cantabantve: hinc Nepos in vitâ Attici, *Nemo*, inquit, *in convivio ejus aliud acroama audivit, quam anagnoſten.*

[n] Macrob. Sat. 2. c. 4.

[o] Vid. Montf. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 3. c. 2. it. Muſ. Etruſc. p. 190, 196. it. Cauſæi Muſ. Roman. p. 67. Fig. 39. it. Pignor. de Servis. p. 68.

Quod cornua vero a Romanis pariter ac Græcis ad bibendum adhibita fuerint, in conviviis præſertim eis, quibus hilarius epulari, largiuſque bibere propoſitum eſſet, ex his ipſis Pocillatorum Icunculis, quæ magno ſane numero adhuc extant, perſpicuum eſt. Sanctus Ambroſius, de ſeculi ſui ebrioſitate querens, militumqne præcipue compotationes temulentas deſcribens, “ Cornu, inquit, in medio, vini plenum: non “ præliaris ſed epularis inſtrumentum buccinæ, quod diſcumbentes in certamen accendat——primum minoribus poculis “ præluditur——ubi res calere cœpit, poſcunt majoribus poculis——menſura proponitur, certatur ſub judice, ſub lege “ decernitur[ſ].” Atque alio deinde loco, “ Hos, homines, an “ utres verius æſtimaverim?——per cornua etiam fluentia in “ fauces hominum vina decurrunt, et ſi quis reſpiraverit, commiſſum flagitium, ſoluta acies, loco motus habetur[t].”

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[p] —*Accedant capiti cornua, Bacchus eris.* —[Ov. Ep. Sapph. ad Phaon.] vid. Feſt. in voce Cornua. it. Athen. Deipnos. l. xi. p. 476. Hinc κεράσαι, vinum ſcilicet in cornu miſcere, et κρατὴρ, quaſi κερατὴρ, originem duxiſſe putantur.

[q] Xenoph. in Expedit. Cyri. l. 6. p. 444. & l. 7. p. 550. Edit. Oxon.

[r] Vid. Athenæum. ibid. Hieron. Mercurialis, animalium cornua a veteribus propterea bibendum uſurpata eſſe exiſtimat, quod contra venenum vim quandam habuiſſe crederentur——De Venen. l. 1. 17. it. Var. lect. 1. 24.

[ſ] Ambroſ. de Elia et Jejun. c. 13.

[t] Ibid. c. 17.

Poculum igitur ejuſmodi, quod Pocillator noſter dextra in altum ſublata tenet, ad veterem iſtum bibendi morem alludere, poculorumque eorum genus indicare, quod ad Sympoſia potiſſimum exhilaranda, convivaſque inebriandos, tanquam cumuli loco adhiberi ſolebat: quumque lex ea data erat, quam Cicero commemorat, ut aut biberent aut diſcederent[u].

TABULA X.

AVIS imaginem perpulchram, atque opere antiquo ex ære fictam, Tabula hæc delineatam exhibet: quæ in baſi itidem itidem ænea, ſive ara potius, quaſi ad cultum quendam divinum conſecrata, inſiſtit: quam quidem aram, ex nonnullis auri particulis in ſuperficie ejus adhuc reſtantibus, deauratam olim fuiſſe, conſtat. Imago vero ipſa, Ibis, opinor, Ægyptiæ germanam figuram indicat: quam tamen a diverſis auctoribus, diverſa interdum forma deſcriptam animadverti.

Cicero eam, *avem excelſam* eſſe ait, *cruribus rigidis*, *corneo proceroque roſtro*[w]; Strabo, *forma et mole corporis*, *Ciconiæ perſimilem*[x]. Atque ex horum teſtimoniis, generatim enuntiatis, ſcriptores nonnulli, atque illi quidem eruditiſſimi, Ciconiæ eam vel Grui prorſus ſimilem depingunt; roſtro ſcilicet oblongo, neque incurvato; et capite glabro, neque cirro ullo aut criſta ornato[y]. At vero Herodotus, qui avem ipſam in Ægypto ſæpiſſime viderat,

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[u] In Verr. l. 1. Verres, ut Cicero ait, qui populi Romani legibus nunquam paruiſſet, tamen legibus eis, quæ in poculis ponebantur, diligenter parebat. Has bibendi leges Plinius enumerat, atque inter alias, *optima fide non reſpiraſſe in hauriendo*; *neque expuiſſe*; *nihilque ad elidendum in pavimentum ſonum ex vino reliquiſſe*. Hiſt. N. l. 14. c. 22.

[w] De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 210. Edit. Lamb.

[x] L. 17. p. 1179. B. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

[y] Pignorius. Meuſ. Iſiac. p. 76. Fig. 29, Kircher. Obeliſc. Pamph. l. 2. p. 130.

crura ei ſane gruina, at roſtrum maxima ex parte aduncum tribuit[z]. Plinius etiam *roſtri ejus aduncitatem*, præcipue commemorat[a]: atque in obeliſko deinde Pamphilio, a Caracalla olim ex Ægypto Romam traducto, hanc avem capite aliquoties cirrato, inſculptam cernimus[b]. Quæ ſane omnia figuram noſtram, uti dixi, ad Ibim plane referendam eſſe oſtendunt.

Duas autem Ibium ſpecies in Ægypto fuiſſe, traditur[c]: unam, partim albam, partimque nigram; alteram penitus nigram: atque hanc cum ſerpentibus præcipue bellum geſſiſſe ac magno propterea in honore fuiſſe accepimus. “ Fama eſt, inquit “ Herodotus, ſerpentes quoſdam alatos, vere ineunte, ex Arabia in Ægyptum verſus volare, Ibes vero ad ingreſſum eis “ occurrentes, aditu prohibere, omneſque interimere[d]. Ipſi “ inquit Cicero qui irridentur Ægyptii nullam belluam, niſi ob “ aliquam utilitatem, quam ab ea caperent, conſecraverunt. “ Ibes maximam vim ſerpentum conficiunt; avertunt peſtem ab “ Ægypto, cum volucres angues, ex vaſtitate Libyæ vento “ Africo invectas, interficiunt, atque conſumunt[e].” Hoc idem a Plinio quoque confirmatur; qui contra *ſerpentum horum adventum, Ægyptios Ibes ſuas*, tanquam numina quædam, *invocare ſolitos* declarat[f].

At vero non ob Serpentes modo conſumptos, ſed ob alia etiam, et majora illa quidem beneficia, Ibim divinis honoribus cultam legimus. Quippe Mercurius, corpore ejus veſtitus, *Ægyptum peragraſſe, artiumque variarum inventionem docuiſſe* dicitur[g]. Hinc litterarum quarundam formæ ab alitis huju membris ac geſtibus deductæ eſſe, hominesque clyſteris præſertim uſum ab ea primum didiciſſe, feruntur. Nam cum Ægyptii, ut Plutarchus ait, " Ibim, aquam marinam in alvum per roſ- " trum injicere, et ſeſe purgare viderint, idem illi quoque " facere didicerunt: Sacerdotes etiam, cum ſeſe luſtrarent, ea " ſemper aqua utebantur, e qua Ibes bibere ſolebant, quia " nullam unquam inſalubrem noxiamve illæ adire viſæ ſunt[h]."

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[z] *Σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γεράνȣ, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς ταμάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον.* lib. 2. p. 118. Edit. Lond.

[a] Hiſt. N. l. 8. c. 27.

[b] Vid. Obeliſc. Pamphil. a Kirchero delineat. p. 489.

[c] Herod. ibid. Ariſtot. Hiſt. Animal. l. 9. c. 27. Plin. l. x. c. 30. *Ibis circa Peluſium nigra eſt, ceteris locis omnibus candida* —quod ab Ariſtotele Plinius tranſtulit.

[d] Herod. ib. p. 117.

[e] De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 210.

[f] L. x. c. 28.

[g] Vid. Kircher. Obel. Pam. p. 234.

Ob hæc, inquam, beneficia Ibis, una cum ceteris Ægypti animalibus, conſecrata fuit. Nam cum " Ægyptus, ut Hero- " dotus tradit, beſtiis non multum abundaret, omnes in ea " repertæ, legibus ſacræ conſtituebantur. His igitur beſtiis, " qui in urbibus præcipue degebant, vota facere, atque ali- " menta præbere ſolebant; et ſiquam earum aliquis volens " necaverat, morte mulctabatur; ſin nolens, ea pœna, quam " Sacerdotes juberent: quiſquis vero Ibim aut accipitrem, " ſive volens, ſive nolens interfeciſſet, eum morte puniri neceſſe " erat[i]."

Hanc Ægyptiorum ſuperſtitionem, tanquam mirabile quod- " dam inſaniæ ac vecordiæ indicium, Cicero ſæpenumero com- " memorat. " Ægyptiorum morem quis ignorat? inquit, quo- " rum imbutæ mentes pravitatis erroribus, quamvis carnifici- " nam prius ſubirent, quam Ibim aut Aſpidem, aut Felem, " aut Canem, aut Crocodilum violent. Quorum etiam ſi " imprudentes quidpiam fecerint, pœnam nullam recuſent[k]." " Atque alio loco: " at vero ne fando quidem auditum eſt, " Crocodilum, aut Ibim, aut Felem violatam ab Ægyptio[l]."

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[h] De Solert. Animal. p. 974. C. Hoc idem etiam Cicero indicat, ubi *alvo ſe Ibes Ægyptias curaſſe*, dicit. [Nat. Deor. l. 2. p. 233.] Plinius autem apertius, *ſimile quiddam, inquit, et volucris in eadem Ægypto monſtravit, quæ vocatur Ibis; roſtri aduncitate per eam partem ſe perluens, qua reddit ciborum onera maxime ſalubre eſt.* [l. 8. c. 27.] Vid. Ælian. de Nat. Animal. l. 2. c. 35. &. l. 7. 45.

[i] Herod. l. 2. p. 115.

[k] Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. p. 189.

[l] Nat. D. l. 1. p. 207.

Ibes igitur, cum tanta religione in Ægypto cultæ, ac publice altæ eſſent, cumque humano quaſi convictu atque urbibus fruerentur, cicures demum, manſuetaſque fieri neceſſe erat: neque mirum ideo illud videri debet, quod a Strabone memoriæ proditum eſt; eas nempe in “Alexandriæ, Urbis refertiſſimæ, vicis triviiſque tam frequentes reperiri, ut moleſtiam pariter ac utilitatem civibus darent: utilitatem, quia et ſerpentes, et macellorum etiam ſordes omnes devorabant; moleſtiam vero, quia omnivoræ atque immundæ, neque a mundis alieniſque contaminandis facile prohibendæ erant[m].”

Alia ſane permulta de Ibe tradita reperio, at nimis illa quidem fabuloſa, quam ut fidem ullam mereri videantur. Illud tamen haud prætereundum, quod ab Æliano ſcriptum legimus; hanc avem Ægypti propriam eſſe, neque *extra ejus fines unquam evolaſſe*; *et ſi ab aliquo inde exportata eſſet, ſibi ipſi mortem ſemper fame conſciviſſe*[n].

Jam vero ſi quærat quiſpiam, quam demum ob cauſam, uſumve hæc noſtra figura ficta olim fuerit; ab Ægyptio ſane aliquo Romæ degente, vel a Romano fortaſſe, Ægyptiorum ſuperſtitioni ritibuſque addicto, eam olim comparatam eſſe conjicerem, ut in Larario ſuo, inter Deos cubiculares colendam poneret. Nam ad cultum quendam religioſum et domeſticum eam conſecratam eſſe, baſis ejus, uti dixi, deaurata indicare videtur: atque hanc adeo Ibis noſtræ effigiem, perinde ac alia iſta Ægypti portenta, in quæ Juvenalis invehitur, auream olim ſtetiſſe veriſimile eſt.

> *Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bithynice, qualia demens*
> *Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat*

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[m] Strab. l. 17. p. 1179.

[n] Hiſt. Animal. l. 2. c. 38. Hinc in Numiſmatibus antiquis, Hadriani præſertim Imperatoris, Ibim ſæpe, tanquam Ægypti ipſius ſymbolum inſculptum videmus. Vid. Vaill. et Havercampt. in Hadr. Numiſ.

Pars hæc: illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibim.
Effigies ſacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci[o].

TABULA XI.

ÆSculapii et Teleſphori imagines, e marmore fictas, ac quales in numiſmatibus, monumentisque antiquis perſæpe exhibentur, ſibi invicem hic adjunctas, cernimus. Æſculapius, medicinæ Deus, tanquam humani generis ſervator, ſalutiſque dator, a veteribus invocatus erat[p]. Vultu ille quidem ſenili, Jovique ſimillimus depingitur, neque ab eo fere, niſi ſymbolorum diverſitate, dignoſcendus. Minucius eum bene barbatum vocat, Apollinis *licet ſemper adoleſcentis filium*[q]. Atque hinc vafer iſte Syracuſarum Tyrannus, ut a Cicerone ſcriptum legimus, *barbam ejus auream, de templis demi juſſit.* neque enim convenire, barbatum eſſe filium, cum in omnibus fanis, Pater imberbis eſſet[r].

Hoc fere amictu ſemper indutus fingitur; pallio nimirum talari, at in ſinus ita collecto, atque in humerum lævum injecto, ut pectus, brachiumque item dextrum nudum appareat, Atque hunc amictum viri docti eundem eſſe credunt, ac quem Poetæ veteres *Pæonium* appellant, medicifque quaſi proprium attribuunt.

— — *Ille retorto*
Pæonium in morem ſenior ſuccinctus amictu,
Multa manu medica, Phœbique potentibus herbis

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[o] Sat. 15. 1.

[p] Æſculapius iſte, quem prædicatis, Deus præſtans, Sanctus Deus, ſalutis dator, Valetudinum peſſimarum Propulſator. &c. Arnob. con. Gent. l. 7. juxt. fin.
In Numiſmat. Antonini Pii, CΩTHPI ACKΛHΠIΩ. Sevatori Æſculapio. it. in nummis Coorum. &c. Vid. Spanheim. 217. it. Gruter. Inſcript. p. 68, 69, &c.

[q] Octav. p. 180. Edit. Varr.

[r] De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

Nequicquam trepidat[s].——
—— —— *ritu ſe cingit uterque*
Pæonio[t]——

Brachium autem Dei pectuſque nudum, fidem eam atque integritatem, dextramque ad opem uſque ferendam paratam denotant, quibus medicorum maxime laus continetur.

——*Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis*
Excitat[u]. —— ——

Quinetiam in numiſmatibus, marmoribuſque antiquis, Dei hujus ſigna, in baculum a ſerpente circumplicatum innixa fere omnia videmus. *Diceres*, inquit Apuleius, *Dei medici baculo, quod ramulis ſemiamputatis nodoſum gerit, ſerpentem generoſum lubricis amplexibus inhærere*[w]. Atque hoc idem baculum, caſu licet aliquo jam abruptum, ad noſtram tamen imaginem adjunctum olim eſſe liquet; cujus altera extremitas in foramen, quod in baſi marmorea adhuc vacuum reſtat, inſerta fuiſſet; altera vero inter brachium imaginis latuſque dextrum, ad axillam uſque pertinuiſſet. Nonnulli ſerpentem, qui pelle vetuſta depoſita novam quotannis induit, tanquam ſanitatis et juventutis ſymbolum, Æſculapio tributum exiſtimant; quo Dei hujus ope, homines morbis levari ac juventuti quodammodo reſtitui, ſignificaretur[x]. Plinius autem ſerpentem, Æſculapio idcirco dicatum eſſe ſcribit, *quia multa ei remedia ineſſe credebantur*[y]. Quod a Statio item indicari videtur,

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[s] Virg. Æn. 12. 400.

[t] Stat Sylv. 1. 4. 107.
Intortos de more accinctus amictus.
Sil. Ital. l. 5.

[u] Hor. Sat. l. 2. 3. 147.
Corporis auxilium medico comitte fideli.
in Diſt. Caton. adſcript.
Cicero item de Aſclapone medico, mihi inquit, tum ipſa ſcientia, tum fidelitate —ſatisfecit. Ep. Fam. 13. 20.

[w] Metam. l. 1. juxt. init.

[x] *Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetuſtas.* Ov. Art. Am. 3. 78. Ὅτι καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀποδύεται τὸ γῆρας οὕτως ἡ Ιατρικὴ τῶν νοσῶν ἐλευθεροῖ. Theodoret. Serm. 8. de Martyr. Vol. 4. p. 596.

[y] Hiſt. N. l. 29. 4.

—— —— Maximus ægris
Auxiliator adeſt, et feſtinantia ſiſtens
Fata; ſalutifero mitis Deus incubat angui[z].

At vero Æſculapium ipſum ſub ſerpentis olim ſpecie cultum eſſe, et ſub ea formam Romam, circa annum Urbis CCCCLXII, cum peſtilentia gravi urbs laboraret, Epidauro primum advectum accepimus; neque citius ad urbem acceſſiſſe, quam de navi ſponte dilapſum, in inſulam Tyberinam tranſnaviſſe, ac peſtilentiam, cujus cauſa quæſitus fuerat, reſtinxiſſe[a].

Scinditur in geminas partes circumfluus amnis.
Inſula nomen habet——
Huc ſe de Latia pinu Phœbeius anguis
Contulit[b]—— ——

Hinc Ædes illi ſtatim magna religione in Inſula conſecrata eſt: atque Inſula deinceps ipſa in navis formam redacta: qualem eam interdum in urbis antiquæ tabulis delineatam cernimus[c]. Attamen Dei ipſius ſimulacra, cum e marmore ficta, tum coloribus picta, non ſerpentis poſtea ſpecie, ſed eo plane habitu, quem ſupra diximus, in Templis paſſim dicari cœperunt[d].

In his Æſculapii fanis, ægroti cubare, ac ſomniorum ab eo immiſſorum monitu, morborum ſuorum remedia perdiſcere ſolebant[e]: quod monumenta ſane permulta, ob morbos ejus ope levatos, ei publice dicata, atque hodie etiam extantia, teſtantur[f]. Hinc Templa ejus donis referta legimus, quæ *remediorum ſalutarium mercedem*, ut Livius ait, *ægri ſacraverant Deo*[g]. Atque ex *his ſomniis, viſiſque nocturnis*, diuturno uſu atque obſervatione comprobatis, *artem ipſam Medicam* conſtitutam eſſe, Jamblichus declarat[h]. Quippe ægrorum, Dei hujus ope ſanatorum, nomina et morbi et curationis ratio, in Tabulis marmoreis a ſacerdotibus deſcripta atque in Templis ejus ſuſpenſa erant: quarum quidem tabularum fragmentum quoddam memorabile, in Inſula ipſa Tyberina repertum, Gruterus edidit; in quo cæcis duobus, curatione quadam a Deo præſcripta, *viſum redditum eſſe, populo inſpectante ac gratulante*, ſignificatur[i]. Hæc autem remedia, in Templo Dei, conſpectui omnium propoſita, Hippocrates ipſe, ut Plinius ait, *exſcripſiſſe traditur, et Templo jam cremato, inſtituiſſe medicinam eam, quæ Clinice vocatur*[k].

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[z] Stat. Sylv. 3. iv. 23.

[a] Val. Max. 1. 8. Hinc ſerpentis adventus in Numiſmate Antonini Pii pulchre deſcriptus cernitur apud Montfauconium. Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 5. c. 1. Tab. 26.

[b] Ovid. Metam. l. 15. 739.

[c] Vid. Jac. Laur. Antiq. Urb. Splend. p. 31. Marlian. Urb. Topogr. l. 5. p. 107.

[d] Plin. Hiſt. l. 34. 8. 35. xi.

[e] An Æſculapius poteſt præſcribere per ſomnium curationem valetudinis, Neptunus Gubernantibus non poteſt? Cic. de Div. 2.
Οὕτως ἐν Ασκληπιοῦ μὲν τὰ νοσήματα τοῖς θείοις ὀνείροις παύεσθαι
Jamblich. de Myſter. § 2. c. 3.

In hanc igitur Æſculapii Inſulam, Romani mancipia ſua ægra, morbiſque affecta exponere, atque omni alia ope deſtituta, Dei tutelæ committere conſueverunt; donec Claudius Imperator, quo tam immanem dominorum erga ſervos crudelitatem cohiberet, edicto ſanxit, "ut omnes qui exponerentur, "liberi eſſent, nec redirent in ditionem domini, ſi convaluiſ-"ſent: et ſiquis necare quem mallet, quam exponere, is cædis crimine teneretur[l]."

Attamen Æſculapium, non ægros profecto quoſlibet, ſed dignos tantum proboſque ſanaſſe, ſceleſtis vero, neque ſomnia, neque opem omnino ullam dediſſe, legimus[m]: quod quidem illi, cum a Chriſtianis, tum a Gentilibus interdum ipſis exprobatum eſt: etenim Arnobius, Chriſtianorum more, cultum ejus irridens, *cum medendi*, inquit, *artibus præſit, cur plurima morborum ac valetudinum genera ad ſanitatem perduci nequeunt*[n]*?* Ac Leno etiam quidam apud Plautum, qui in fano ejus ægrotus cubaverat, ita demum querens egreditur.

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[f] Gruter Inſcript. p. 68. &c.

[g] Lib. 45. 28. Conſul Apollini. Æſculapio—dona vovere, et dare ſigna inaurata juſſus. Id. lib. 40. 37.

[h] Jamblich. Ibid.

[i] Gruter. p. 71. Ex hac Tabula, ut Montfauconius ait, vel Dæmonum in morbis infligendis ac pellendis poteſtatem, vel Sacerdotum Gentilium fraudes ac præſtigias colligere licet. Vid. Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 1. l. 4. c. 6.

[k] Hiſt. N. l. 29. c. 1.

[l] Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

[m] Exempla hujus rei varia a Philoſtrato commemorantur. lib. 1. c. 9. x.

> *Migrare certum eſt, jam nunc e fano foras,*
> *Quando Æſculapi ita ſentio ſententiam,*
> *Ut qui me nihili faciat, nec ſalvom velit:*
> *Valetudo decreſcit, accreſcit labor*[o].

Teleſphorus denique, qui Æſculapio, ut ſupra dixi, comes perſæpe adjungitur, convaleſcentium Deus habitus eſt; cujus munus proprium erat, ut nomen ejus indicat, morbis jam liberatos et convaleſcentes, ad perfectam ſanitatem perducere. Hunc autem a Nicæenſibus potiſſimum et Pergamenis, una cum Æſculapio, tanquam Deum Tutelarem, cultum, accepimus; ab aliis vero quibuſdam civitatibus, Evemeriona et Aceſium dictum. Forma ille ſemper puerili, ac pallio penitus coopertus fingitur; cui cucullus etiam plerumque annexus eſt, quo caput ejus omne, facie tantum excepta tegitur[p]: atque ſub hac eum ſpecie, in monumentis nummiſque antiquis ſæpiſſime exhibitum, et Æſculapio adjunctum videmus[q]. Forma autem ejus puerilis, palliumque penitus clauſum, infirmum iſtum debilemque convaleſcentium ſtatum denotare; ac multa adhuc cautione opus eis eſſe, ad perfectam ſanitatem recuperandam, ſignificare videtur.

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[n] Con. Gent. l. 4. circa med.

[o] Curcul. Act. 2. Scen. 1.

[p] In noſtra tamen Teleſphori imagine, quod in aliis ejus figuris haud unquam animadverti, cucullus iſte de capite prorſus in humeros rejectus eſt.

[q] In Numiſmate quodam Antonini Pii, Nicææ percuſſo, græce inſcriptum legimus, Deo Teleſphoro Nicæenſium. [Morell. Spec. p. 52.] in Numiſmate item L. Veri, eum rurſus a Nicæenſibus una cum Æſculapio exhibitum cernimus. Atque in Numiſmatibus item Commodi ac Caracallæ, a Pergamenis. Vid. Oſſervaz. ſopr. alcun. Medaglion Antich. Da Buonarott. Tab. 4. 5. Tab. 6. 2. Tab. 7. 9. item de variis Teleſphori nominibus, vid. Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 7.

TABULA XII.

Figuram hanc æneam, quæ Apollinis, Bacchive ſpeciem, at nullis Deorum illorum ſymbolis inſtructam, præ ſe ferre videtur, Antinoi effigiem eſſe exiſtimo. Antinoum enim, Hadriani delicias, eximia forma adoleſcentem, e Bithynia oriundum, in Divorum numerum a Principe iſto relatum cognovimus——" Antinoum ſuum, inquit Spartianus, dum per " Nilum navigat, perdidit; quem muliebriter flevit: de quo " varia fama eſt: aliis, eum devotum pro Hadriano, aſſerentibus; aliis, quod et forma ejus oſtentat, et nimia voluptas " Hadriani: et Græci quidem, volente Hadriano, eum conſecraverunt, oracula per eum dari aſſerentes; quæ Hadrianus " ipſe compoſuiſſe jactatur[r]." Hadrianus certe Templa ei ſtatim, ſtatuaſque dicari juſſit; urbemque juxta eum locum, in quo mortuus eſt. Antinoi nomine inſtauravit[ſ]. Hinc in Inſcriptione quadam antiqua adhuc extante, Deorum Ægyptiorum Sunrhronus appellatur[t]: qui eoſdem ſcilicet honores, cultumque apud gentem iſtam, ac ceteri eorum Dii, obtinuerat.

At non in Ægypto tantum, ſed per totum fere terrarum orbem divinos Antinoo honores tributos eſſe legimus. Quippe cum Hadrianus Imperii Romani provincias peragraret, Civitates iſtæ omnes, in quibus commoratus eſt, inter ſeſe quaſi certaſſe feruntur, quænam Antinoi maxime cultum memoriam-que celebrarent; Deorum ſibi quæque propriorum honores atque inſignia ac formam etiam ei tribuentes; quibus eum quidem, in Civitatum iſtarum nummis, adhuc extantibus, inſtructum ſæpe videmus[u].

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[r] Vid. Ælium. Spartian. in Hadr. c. 14.

[ſ] Dio. p. 793.

[t] —ΑΝΤΙΝΟωΙ
CΥΝΘΡΟΝωΙ ΤωΝ
ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤωΙ ΘΕωΝ
Μ. ΟΥΛΠΙΟC ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟC
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC
Gruter. p. 86. 1.

Mantinea autem, ut Pauſanias tradit, præter Templum ei dicatum, initia etiam quædam anniverſaria, ludoſque quinquennales in honorem ejus inſtituit; domumque præterea in Gymnaſio, et fictis, et pictis item ejus imaginibus egregie inſtruxit; quæ Bacchi potiſſimum inſignibus ornatæ erant[w].

Tarſus item, Ciliciæ Metropolis, in nummis ſuis, in honorem Antinoi percuſſis, Apollinis ei ſymbola, cum ipſo Novi Pythii titulo, attribuit[x]. Atque ſub Apollinis maxime forma illum a pleriſque civitatibus, cultum eſſe liquet. Cui quidem Deo, ſimulacra Antinoi omnia, quæ mihi videre contigit, quorumque plurima adhuc reſtant, et habitu corporis, et facie ipſa quam ſimillima apparent.

At vero inſanum hunc Antinoi cultum, ab ortu licet tam infami profectum, non Hadriano ſolum vivente, ſed, quod mirandum magis eſt, poſt mortem ejus diu floruiſſe, atque a Sanctis Eccleſiæ patribus, gentilibus ſæpe exprobatum eſſe legimus. *Noctes Antinoi ſacræ*, inquit Clemens, *etiam hodie ab hominibus celebrantur: quas is, qui cum puero vigilaverat, turpes eſſe cognovit. Quid mihi eum inter Deos refers, qui ſtupris honorem iſtum meruit?* Hieronymus etiam Hegeſippum ita querentem inducit; “ Tumulos mortuis, templaque fecerunt, ſicut hodie uſque

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[u] Vid. Vaillant. Selectior. Numiſm. Max. Mod. p. 19. it. Buonarotti Oſſervaz. ſopra alcun. Medaglion. Tab. 2. p. 25.

[w] Pauſan. l. 8. c. 9. p. 617.

[x] Vid. Buonarott. ibid. p. 36. Nam ex omnibus antiquorum Deis, nonniſi hos duos eximia quadam oris venuſtate, perpetuaque juventute inſignitos legimus.

Solis æterna eſt Phœbo, Bacchoque juventa,
Nam decet intonſus crinis utrumque Deum.
Tibul. l. 1. 4.

—— *Tibi enim inconſumpta Juventus,*
Tu puer æternus —— ——
Ov. Met. l. 4. 17. de Baccho.

" videmus: e quibus eſt et Antinous, ſervus Hadriani Cæſaris, " cui et gymnicus agon exercetur Antinoius, Civitatemque ex " ejus nomine condidit, et ſtatuit Prophetas in templo[y]. Pru- " dentius denique in cultum ejus ita invehitur."

Quid loquar Antinoum cæleſti ſede locatum?
Illum delicias nunc Divi Principis; illum
Purpureo in gremio ſpoliatum ſorte virili,
Hadrianique Dei Ganymedem; non cyathos Diis
Porgere, ſed medio recubantem cum Jove fulchro[z]*?*

Figuræ hujus baſis opere item antiquo, atque egregio exſculpta eſt; at vero a Montfauconio dudum, e Muſeo Cardinalis Gualtieri deſcripta, ac Deæ Veſtæ imagini adjuncta cernitur[a]. Quam quidem poſt mortem Cardinalis, a Veſtæ Icuncula iſta, caſu neſcio quo, ſejunctam atque in Angliam advectam, ipſe pretio emendam, atque ad Antinoi noſtri effigiem accommodandam curavi. At neque Veſtæ, uti Montfauconius exſtimabat, neque ulli omnino ſimulacro, eam baſis olim vicem ſubiiſſe conſtat, ſed lucernæ potius ſeu Candelabri imam partem fuiſſe; ut ex foramine quodam amplo ac rotundo colligere licet, quod in parte ejus ſuperiore jam vacuum reſtat, nec niſi ad vaſculi cujuſdam ſtipitem truncumve excipiendum, paratum eſſe apparet[b].

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[y] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 43. Edit. Oxon. et Hieron. de Viris Illuſtrib. in Hegeſippo. item Euſeb. Hiſt Eccl. l. 4. c. 8.

[z] Con. Sym. l. 1. 271.

[a] Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 5. Tab. 6. p. 38.

[b] Fort. Licetus, baſim quandam triangularem, inſigni ſculptura ornatam, neque huic noſtræ ſimillimam exhibet, e qua, columella quædam, cui lucernæ duæ hinc inde appenſæ ſunt in altum exſurgit: *in apice vero cujuſque anguli,* ut Licetus ipſe baſim deſcribens ait, Sphinges *inſident miræ tres; capite barbati Sileni, collo prorſus humano, alis, ventre, caudaque draconis.* Atque ad ejuſmodi fortaſſe Candelabrum lucernamve, baſim itidem noſtram adjunctam olim fuiſſe, conjicere licet. Vid. Licet. de Lucern. l. 6. c. 14. p. 667. it. Montfauc. Vol. 5. l. 2. c. 9. Tab. 44.

Tripodis autem forma, quam baſis noſtra gerit, eam ad templorum uſum aliquem pertinuiſſe oſtendit; in quibus menſas, aruláſque etiam tripodes conſecrari cognovimus. Sed et ſculptura etiam quiddam notatu dignum præbet. Monſtrorum nempe ſpecies quædam ſingularis, neque alias fere viſa, ex ſingulis ejus angulis exſculpta prominet; quæ, cetera quidem, ſphingibus plane ſimillima ſunt, niſi quod facies illis fœminea ſemper ſeu puellaris, noſtris autem, virilis tributa eſt. At neſcio equidem, an Sphinges etiam mares a Veteribus interdum fingi ſolerent: quod nonnulli ſane, ex Philemonis loco quodam, ab Athenæo citato, indicari crediderunt; ubi homo quidam de Coquo ſuo, ænigmatice ſemper loquente, querens, ſe non Coquum ſed Sphingem marem in domum ſuam introduxiſſe dicit[c].

Iſtud tamen utcunque fuerit, ego profecto, ex monſtrorum noſtrorum alis, mammis, pedibuſque leoninis, quæ Sphingibus certe propria ſunt, artificem nonniſi Sphingum imagines exhibere voluiſſe arbitror: quas quidem Veteres iſtos ante Templa collocare, atque in Vaſculis quoque ſacris perſæpe inſculpere ſolitos cognovimus; quo res nimirum divinas myſticas eſſe, atque *ænigmatum involucris a profanis tegendas, ſignificarent*[d].

TABULA XIII.

BAcchi Imagunculam æneam hic delineatam habemus; de cujus ſymbolis, muneribuſque, cum a ſcriptoribus antiquis tantopere decantata, atque omnibus cognita ſint, plura hoc loco diſſerere, lectori certe faſtidioſum eſſet.

Altera vero iſta Icuncula, Hermarum forma, ex ære ficta, explanatione forſitan aliqua egere videatur; quippe cui nullam omnino ſimilem, vel in libris deſcriptam, vel in Muſeis aſſervatam vidi. Calathus iſte ſeu modius, quem capiti impoſitum gerit, Serapidis fere proprius habetur; neque alii cuivis Deo, niſi rariſſime attributus: facies autem imberbis juvenilis, Phœbum potius, Bacchumve, quam Serapim præ ſe ferre videtur, qui barbatus plerumque, Jovique aut Æſculapio ſimillimus fingi ſolet[e]. Cum vero Serapim Deorum fere omnium vicem Ægyptiis ſuis ſuppleviſſe, atque Apollinis potiſſimum, Solisve munera præſtitiſſe conſtet[f], haud alienum cenſeri poteſt, ut vultu ille quoque juvenili nonnunquam fingeretur; qualem illum quidem in lucernis veterum, gemmiſque anularibus exhibitum animadverti[g].

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[c] Athen. l. 14. c. 22. p. 659.

[d] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 664, 671. &c.

At præter calathum, quo Serapis ſemper inſtructus eſt, radiis eum quoque, aureiſve, quas vocant, Solis comis, ornatum aliquando videmus[h]. Atqui figura item noſtra diadema ſeu coronam geſtat, punctis quibuſdam, ſed jam attritis diſtinctam, quæ radiorum fortaſſe ſpeciem olim exhibere potuiſſent: hoc autem utcunque fuerit, at calathus certe non niſi *fœcunditatis atque abundantiæ ſymbolum* eſſe intelligitur, quam Serapidis præcipue numen per terrarum orbem diffundere credebatur.

Principes Dei, inquit Varro, *ſunt Cælum et Terra*; *iidem qui in Ægypto, Serapis et Iſis*[i]. Serapidis autem cultus Romam nonniſi ſero, et poſtremis Reipublicæ temporibus traductus eſſe apparet. Quumque Fana ejus nonnulla *privatim intra urbem exſtructa eſſe*, indicatum eſſet, Senatus ea demoliri, nec niſi extra pomœrium ædificari, juſſit[k]: hinc meretrix quædam apud Catullum homines quoſdam lecticarios ſibi commodandos petit, qui ad Serapim eam deferrent[l]: nam ad ædes extra pomœrium poſitas, iter mulieri ſane longinquum fuerit, neceſſe eſt. Hæc autem ſacra, quum intra urbem rurſus graſſari, atque aperte celebrari cœpiſſent, Agrippa urbis Præfectus repreſſit, et *ne quis in Suburbano etiam, intra quingentos paſſus, ea perageret, edicto vetuit*[m]. Tiberius denique *ritus hoſce Ægyptiacos*, una cum Judaicis *etiam, penitus compeſcuiſſe*[n] dicitur.

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[e] Vid. Dei hujus imagines a Montfauconio collectas. Antiqu. Vol. 2. Par. 2. l. 1. c. x. Tab. 40——N. B. Inter Deos iſtos, qui Hermarum interdum forma fingi ſolebant, Sponius, Hermanubim, exhibuit. Hunc igitur noſtrum quidni Hermeſerapim appellemus?

[f] Alexandria—Serapin atque Iſin cultu pæne attonitæ venerationis obſervat; omnem tamen illam venerationem Soli ſe ſub illius nomine teſtatur impendere, vel dum capiti ejus calathum inſigunt &c. Macrob. Sat. 1. 20—Serapim multi Æſculapium; —quidam Oſirim; plerique Jovem;—plurimi Ditem Patrem. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4. 84. it. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

[g] Vid. Fort. Licet. De Antiquor. Lucern. l. 6. c. 13. p. 1178. Vid. it. Montfauc. ib. & Gorlæi Dactylioth. Tab. 30.

[h] Vid. Montfauc. ibid. et Chifflet. de Gemmis Abraxeis. Tab. 26.

[i] De Ling. lat. l. 4. Si Dii ſunt illi quos colimus, cur non iu eodem genere Serapim, Iſimque numeremus?—Cic. Nat. D. 3. 19.

Hactenus quidem Ægyptiornm Deos, Romanis nonniſi invidioſos, ſuſpectoſque eſſe videmus; ſed haud magno deinceps temporis intervallo, intra urbem ipſam receptos, Templiſque conſecratos reperimus. De quorum numero Serapis Veſpaſiani potiſſimum auctoritate, Romanis commendatus eſſe videtur; qui Dei nimirum hujus ope ac monitu, *viſum cæco cuidam Alexandriæ, pro concione palam reſtituiſſe fertur*[o]. Atque hinc in filiorum ejus, Titi et Domitiani, nummis, Dei hujus effigiem, perinde ac in anulis antiquorum nonnullis, inſculptum videmus[p]: ad quem quidem morem Plinius, qui eadem ætate floruit, alludens, Statuas *Ægyptiorum numinum a viris quoque in digitis portari*, queritur[q].

Templum ejus in Circo deinde Flaminio poſitum, atque ab Imperatoribus ornatum[r], Serapimque ipſum, Dei magni Invictique nomine invocatum legimus; ut Inſcriptiones permultæ, ob beneficia accepta, morboſque ſanatos, ei dicatæ teſtantur[f]. Hunc enim, perinde ac Æſculapium, tanquam Deum Medicum, Salutiſque datorem, a Veteribus cultum eſſe liquet. "Quid convenit, inquit Cicero, ægros a conjectore ſomniorum potius quam a Medico petere Medicinam? An Æſculapius, an Serapis poteſt præſcribere per ſomnium curationem valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non poteſt[t]?" Varro etiam, Ciceronis æqualis, (quorum ætate, Serapim nondum in honore Romæ conſtitutum diximus) in cultum ejus illudens, hoc diſtichon compoſuit.

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[k] Dio. l. 40. p. 142. E.

[l] Catul. Epigr. x.

[m] Dio. l. 54. p. 525. B.

[n] Sueton. in Vit. c. 36.

[o] Suet. in Veſpaſ. c. 7. Cæci hujus, claudique etiam a Veſpaſiano ſanati hiſtoriam Tacitus quidem fuſius narrat; additque demum; *Utrumque, qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, poſtquam nullum mendacio pretium.* Hiſt. l. 4. c. 81.

[p] Muſ. Romam. p. 105. it. Gorlæi Dactyl.

[q] l. 33. 3.

[r] Iſium et Serapium decenter ornavit. &c. Lamprid. de Alexand. Sev. c. 26.

Hoſpes quid miras nummo curare Serapim?
Quid? quaſi non curet tantidem Ariſtoteles[u].

Jam vero, quum hæ Deorum Imagunculæ, ex ære aut marmore fictæ, et numero fere infinitæ, e Romanorum veterum ſupellectile ad hæc uſque tempora conſervatæ ſint; ſi quærat tandem aliquis, cuinam uſui inſervierint; et cur ſimulachra tam exilia tanto olim in numero ac pretio fuerint? Ratio ſane facilis atque expedita eſt. In ſingulis nempe ædibus, nobilium præſertim ac divitum, Lararium fuit, ſeu Sacrarium quoddam domeſticum, minutulis hiſce ſtatuis refertum; quibus ſacra quædam privata aut gentilitia facere, thus adolere, cultumque prorſus divinum tribuere ſolebant. "Apud Heium Mamertinum, ut Cicero ſcribit, ſacrarium erat magna cum dignitate a majoribus traditum, perantiquum: in quo ſigna pulcherrima quatuor, ſummo artificio, ſumma nobilitate—unum Cúpidinis e marmore, Praxitelis; alterum, Herculis egregie fac-

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[f] Vid. Gruter. Inſcript. Vol. 1. p. 84. 8: 85. 3, 4, 8.—

[t] De Divinat. l. 2. 59.

[u] In Eumenid. apud Non. Marcell. de Propriet. Serm. c. 7. 105. in voce miras, pro miraris.——

“ tum ex ære, Myronis opus: item ante hoſce Deos erant “ arulæ, quæ ſacrarii religionem ſignificare poſſent. Erant “ ænea præterea ſigna duo, non maxima, ſed eximia venuſtate, “ virginali habitu atque veſtitu,—Canephoræ ipſæ vocabantur “ —quarum artificem Polycletum eſſe dicebant—hæc omnia “ ſigna ab Heio de Sacrario Verres abſtulit[w].”

Quinetiam in cubiculis quoque, Deos hoſce domeſticos, Lareſque interdum collocabant; et Cubiculares ideo appellabant. Atque hinc inter domûs Auguſtæ officia, ſervos, qui curæ Larium Cubiculi præfuere, commemoratos invenimus[x]: e qua quidem Deorum claſſe, “ Nero, ut Suetonius ait, Icunculam quandam puellarem, pro ſummo numine, trinis in die “ ſacrificiis, coluit; volebatque credi, ſe monitione ejus futura “ prænoſcere[y]. Galba quoque ſimulachrum Fortunæ æneum, “ cubitali majus, in parte ædium ſuarum conſecraſſe, ac men- “ ſtruis ſupplicationibus, et pervigilio anniverſario coluiſſe tra- “ ditur[z].” Atqui hæc eadem Fortuna, nonniſi ex auro poſtea ab Imperatoribus, in cubiculis ſuis conſecrata erat; quam Antoninus, jam moriturus, ad M. Aurelium, ſucceſſorem ſuum, transferri juſſit[a]. Neque hoc tamen a principibus ſolummodo, ſed a Philoſophis quoque factitatum legimus. Etenim Aſclepiades quidam Cynicus, Juliani Imperatoris amicus, *argenteum quoddam Deæ Cæleſtis figmentum, quocunque ibat, ſecum efferre, accenſiſque cereis in cubiculo venerari ſolitus fertur*[b].

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[w] In Verr. 3. 2.

[x] Suet. in Domitian. 17. Ad harum autem imaginum cultum et cuſtodiam, Collegium etiam ſeu ſodalitium, Cæſarum temporibus inſtitutum fuiſſe, Fabrettus docet, quod *Collegium magnum Larum et Imaginum*, in Inſcriptionibus antiquis appellatur. [de Colum. Traj. p. 205.] in quarum una, *Signum Libertatis reſtitutæ*, ſub Galba Imperatore, *Imaginvm Domus Auguſtæ Cultoribus*, poſitum dicitur. Boiſſar. Tom. 5. p. 12.

[y] In Ner. c. 56.

[z] Suet. in Galb. c. 4.

[a] Vid. Capitol. in Antonin. P. c. 12. & M. Aurel. c. 7.

[b] Amm. Marcellin. l. 22. 13.

Inter Deos hoſce domeſticos, defunctorum etiam quorundam imagines, qui virtutis, ingenii, aut rerum geſtarum gloria floruiſſent, in cubiculis collocari, colique ſolitas cognovimus. Suetonius, ſe Auguſti *Imagunculam æream Hadriano Imperatori dono dediſſe ſcribit, quam Princeps iſte inter cubiculares poſtea coluit*[c]. Vitellius autem, quo Claudium adulando demereretur, *libertorum ejus, Narciſſi et Pallantis, imagines inter Lares conſecravit*[d], Sanctus Auguſtinus, *Marcellinam quandam, Carpocratis Heretici* diſcipulam, imagines *Jeſu, et Paulli, et Homeri, et Pythagoræ, adorando incenſumque ponendo,* coluiſſe dicit[e]: neque aliter fere Alexander Severus, in Larario ſuo, et *Apollonium, et Chriſtum, et Abraham et Orpheum et hujuſcemodi Deos habuiſſe* traditur[f].

At non domi ſolummodo, atque in Larariis, Imperatores olim ſimulacra iſta colere, ſed in itineribus etiam bellicíſque expeditionibus ſecum efferre ſolebant. Etenim Herculis Icuncula quædam menſura haud pedali, Lyſippi opus, a Martiale et Statio celebratur, quod Alexandro magno, et Hannibali et Syllæ deinceps in bellis ſuis omnibus comes fuiſſet[g]. At Syllam, Apollinis potius Imagunculam auream, Delphis ablatam, in ſinu circumtuliſſe legimus; eamque in præliis ſuis, militumque in conſpectu, *amplecti et orare ſolitum, ut promiſſa maturaret*[h].

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[c] In Aug. c. 7.

[d] Suet. in Vitell. c. 2.

[e] De Hæreſib. § 7.

[f] Lamprid. in Alex. Serv. c. 29. Item Plinius Junior, de Titinio Capitone; *mirum eſt*, inquit, *qua religione, quo ſtudio imagines Brutorum, Caſſiorum, Catonum domi, ubi poteſt, habeat.* [Epiſt. l. 1. 17.] ita quoque Alexander Severus, *Virgilii imaginem cum Ciceronis ſimulachro, in ſecundo Larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum.* &c. Lamprid. ib. c. 31.

[g] —*Non eſt fama recens, nec noſtri gloria cæli*
Nobile Lyſippi munus, opuſque vides.
Hoc habuit numen Pellæi menſa Tyranni,
Qui cito perdomito victor in orbe jacet.
Hunc puer ad Lybicas juraverat Hannibal aras:
Juſſerat hic Syllam ponere regna trucem.
Offenſus variæ tumidis terroribus aulæ
Privatos gaudet nunc habitare lares.
Mart. Ep. l. 9. 44.
vid. item Stat. Sylv. 4. 6.

Ex hoc igitur ſimulacrorum uſu cultuque, quem jam expoſui, haud mirum videri poteſt, quod tantus eorum numerus, ex urbis antiquæ ruinis erutus, atque ad hæc uſque tempora conſervatus ſit; quum omnes fere et Principum et privatorum domos, tum ornatus, tum religionis potiſſimum cauſa, eis refertas eſſe conſtet.

SECT. III.

IN Larariis autem iſtis, ædiumve privatarum ſacellis, arulæ ſemper quædam, ut ſupra dictum eſt, ante Imagunculas ipſas poſitæ fuere, in quibus thus odoreſque Diis Laribus incendere, dapeſve interdum, pro more, apponere ſolebant. Itaque figuram Tabulæ hujus tertiam, antiquo opere ex ære conflatam, ex arularum earum numero fuiſſe cenſeo. Baſis enim ejus tripes, ad uſum aliquem ſacrum eam pertinuiſſe, indicat; vertexque rotundus ac concavus, ad nihil fere aliud, ac thuris pauxillum excipiendum, accommodatus eſſe apparet. Quod veteres autem, thure aut farre, aut vino, Laribus ſupplicare, coronaſque interdum, feſtis diebus, offerre ſolerent, certiſſimum eſt.

O parvi, noſtrique Lares, quos thure minuto,
Aut farre, aut tenui ſoleo exornare corona[i].

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[h] Plutarch. in Vit. p. 471. B. it. Valer. Max. l. 1. c. 2.—J. Cæſar etiam, uti Dio tradit, *Venerem armatam, in anulo inſculptam, geſtabat, qua quidem, Tesseræ loco, in maximis prœliis uti ſolebat*. l. 43. p. 235. A.

[i] Juven. Sat. 9. 137. Plautus etiam Larem ita loquentem introducit.

Huic filia una eſt: ea mihi quotidie
Aut thure, aut vino, aut aliquî ſemper ſupplicat;
Dat mihi coronas — Prolog. in Aulular.

In Muſeo Etruſco, a Franc. Gorio in lucem edito, figuram quandam tripodem, huic noſtræ haud abſimilem, deſcriptam cernimus, quam Vir ille eruditus, atque in rebus hiſce verſatiſſimus, Geniorum arulam eſſe declarat[k]: Genios autem iſtos, haud alios fere, ac Lares Penateſque ab antiquis habitos cognovimus[l].

Arulæ noſtræ forma plane perbella eſt; baſiſque ſculptili opere affabre ornata: cujus quidem ad exemplar, menſarum ſæpe, ſellarum, lectulorumque pedes, vel hodie etiam fabricatos videmus. Quippe ex hujuſmodi veterum monumentis, ac ſupellectilis antiquæ reliquiis, noſtrorum temporum opifices, qui in artibus ſuis famam ullam nomenque conſecuti ſunt, operum ſuorum modulos plerumque ſumpſiſſe cognovimus; laudemque eos maximam ſemper adeptos eſſe, qui priſcos illos quam diligentiſſime eſſent imitati.

TABULA XIV.

PRima Tabulæ hujus figura, Bacchæ cujuſdam, ſeu fœminæ in Bacchi ſacris initiatæ, imaginem præ ſe fert. Etenim Bacchus, cum ad Indos armis domandos proficiſceretur, multas ſecum mulieres in exercitu duxiſſe traditur; quæ lymphatico quodam furore actæ, tripudiis carminibuſque geſta ejus celebrabant, ac cultum ei divinum tribuebant. Quamobrem in perpetuam expeditionis iſtius memoriam, mulieres poſtea ad Bacchi ſemper ſacra adhibitæ erant; quæ, quia in Orgiis iſtis, inſanientium ſeſe more agitare, ac geſticulari ſolerent, græco nomine Bacchæ ac Mænades dictæ ſunt; velut Deus item ipſe, ab earum comitatu, Bacchus[m].

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[k] Tab. 166. ejuſdem etiam formæ Arulas in Romanorum Imperatorum nummis ſæpe inſculptas cernere licet.

[l] Adhærent ergo ſingulis, et ſub nomine Geniorum aut Penatium domos occupant. His ſacraria conſtituuntur; his quotidie libatur, ut Laribus. Lact. Div. Juſtit. c. 28. Vid. it. Montfauc. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 12.

Ubi capita Mænades vi jaciunt hederigeræ,
Ubi ſacra ſancta acutis ululatibus agitant[n].

Bacchæ vero noſtræ caput corona hederacea redimitum cernimus: Quippe hæc Bacchantium propria erat, ac mitra interdum et diadema a veteribus appellatur! quam Bacchus omnium primus inveniſſe, et capiti ſuo impoſuiſſe fertur[o]. Qui, ut Diodorus ait, ad repellendos capitis ex nimio potu dolores, *mitra caput cinxit, Regibuſque inde diadematis geſtandi exemplum dedit*[p]. Sed de Bacchi, et Bacchantium, atque ebriorum ſane omnium coronis, frequens admodum apud Poetas mentio occurrit. De Baccho ita Ovidius;

Bacche racemiferos hedera redimite capillos[q].

Tum de muliere Bacchi ſacra celebrante;

Cur hedera cincta eſt? hedera eſt gratiſſima Baccho[r].

Propertius deinde, de ebriis quibuſlibet.

Sobrius ad lites: at cum eſt impoſta corona,
Clamabis capiti vina ſubeſſe meo[ſ].

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[m] Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 211, 212. &c. Edit. Han. it. Suid. in voce——

[n] Catull. de Aty. 64. Hi Bacchantium chori, ſive virorum, ſive feminarum, Thiaſi vocantur.

Inſtituit Daphnis Thiaſos inducere Baccho.
[Virg. Ecl. 5. 30.] hinc Bacchus apud Euripidem

Θίασος ἐμὸς, γυναῖκες, ἃς ἐκ βαρβάρων
Εκόμισα παρέδρους——
O Thiaſe mi, mulieres, quas ex barbaris
Eduxi comites—— in Bacch. v. 56.

Vid. it. Athenæum. l. 8. c. 16. p. 362. F. At vero Thiaſos hoſce, non Bacchi modo, ſed aliorum item Deorum fuiſſe, neque aliud omnino ac Sodalitium ſeu Collegium, in Dei alicujus honorem inſtitutum, ſodaliumque ipſorum conventum ſignificaſſe. Vir eruditus Ant. Van Dale demonſtravit. Diſſert. 9. c. 1.

[o] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 16. 4.

[p] Diodor. Sic. ibid.

[q] Faſt. 6. 43.

[r] Ib. 3. 765.

[ſ] Propert. El. l. 4. 2. it apud Plautum; *Quid, tu, ego video?* Pſ. *Cum corona ebrium Pſeudolum tuum.* Pſeud. Act. 5. 2.

Cur autem ex hedera potiſſimum coronæ iſtæ contextæ fuerint, rationes quaſdam phyſicas a ſcriptoribus antiquis traditas accepimus; atque ab Athenæo præſertim in hunc ſenſum. "Bacchi cultoribus, quorum capita ex nimio potu dolerent, remedio aliquo opus erat. Itaque vinculum ſive ſertum in eum finem promptiſſimum reperiebatur, natura ipſa viam indicante. Nam cum capitis quidam dolore affectus eſſet, et compreſſu deinde ejus levatus, tum vinculum doloris iſtius remedium eſſe intellexit. Hanc igitur medicinam inter potandum poſtea adhibentes, corona præcipue hederacea caput revinciebant; quia hedera et magna copia et omni loco ſpontanea naſcitur; neque aſpectu ſane invenuſta, foliiſque virentibus ac corymbis frontem opacans, et abſque ullo odore incommodo præterea refrigerans[t]."

Sed aliam quoque rationem Plutarchus reddit; quippe "mulieres, inquit, Bacchicis furoribus correptæ, ad hederam recta feruntur, quam manibus ſtatim arripientes ac devorantes, diſcerpunt; ita ut non fide omnino indigni eſſe videantur, qui hederæ ſpiritum quendam ineſſe dicunt, qui inſaniam furoremque excitat, menteſque hominum labefacit, et abſque vini ope, ebrietate ac delectatione quadam eos potiſſimum afficit, qui ad concitationes ejuſmodi fanaticas natura procliviores ſint[u]." Hæc Plutarchi ſententia, a Plinio item confirmatur, qui *hederæ ſuccum, largius potum, mentem turbare, et caput purgare, nerviſque nocere,* ſcribit[w]. Atque ob hanc fortaſſe cauſam *hederam,* inter *doctarum præmia frontium* recenſitam, Poetiſque præſertim pro corona datam legimus[x]: propter ine-

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[t] Athen. l. 13. c. 5. p. 675. it. Plut. Sympoſ. 3. p. 647. A.

[u] Plutarch. Quæſt. Rom. ad Fin.

[w] Lib. 24 c. x.

[x] Hor. Od. l. 1. 1. Cœlius item Aurelianus, Medicus antiquus, artis ſuæ experientia, ut credere licet, edoctus, hanc eandem vim Hederæ attribuit; *eamque cum*

briandi ſcilicet, ſive enthuſiaſmum quendam excitandi poteſtatem, quam, perinde ac laurus, habuiſſe reperta eſt.

Bacchi vero ſacra, tam apud Græcos, quam Romanos, noctu plerumque celebrari ſolebant; ut Bacchus ipſe apud Euripidem declarat.

> Νύκτωρ τὰ πολλά. σεμνότητ᾽ ἔχει σκότος.
> *Noctu plerumque: tenebræ reverentiam creant.*

Cui Pentheus reſpondet,

> Τοῦτ᾽ εἰς γυναῖκας δόλιόν ἐστι ϗ σαθρόν.
> *Hoc mulieribus inſidioſum eſt ac turpe*[y].

Quod quidem Romæ olim verum eſſe compertum eſt: nam cum Conſulibus indicatum eſſet, Orgia iſta nocturna nonniſi ſtupris flagitiiſque inquinari, ac *corruptelarum omnium*, ut Livius ait, *officinam eſſe*; non modo ex urbe, ſed ex Italia etiam omni exterminata fuerunt[z]. Quæ tamen, labante rurſus diſciplina, paucis poſt annis revocata, atque a mulieribus palam celebrata invenimus. At vero, ex ingenti Icuncularum harum numero, quæ, bacchantium habitu, uſque ad hæc tempora conſervata ſunt, eas ad viventium ſimilitudinem fictas eſſe, germanaſque matronarum quarundem, quæ Bacchi ſeſe ſacris addixerant, imagines fuiſſe, veriſimile videtur.

At illud denique haud ſilentio prætereundum; Bacchæ nimirum noſtræ imaginem *oculos argenteos* habere: quod tamen in aliis ſæpe Imagunculis inveniri; neque ex argento tantum, ſed

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bibitur, mentis errorem inducere, declarat.

N. B. Hoc autem omne, quod de hederæ vi inebriante hoc loco dictum eſt, a familiari meo multis, mihi nominibus cariſſimo, Gulielmo Heberden M. D. Collegii Div. Johan. apud Cantabrigienſes ſocio, accepi. Qui ad Artis Medicæ ſcientiam, qua quidem egregie præſtat, litteras eas omnes reconditiores, atque ea humanitatis ſtudia adjunxit, quæ hominem ingenuum ornare, ſuiſque jucundum reddere queant.

[y] Euripid. Bacch. v. 486.

[z] Liv. l. 39. x.

e cryſtallo, gemmiſque item pretioſis, oculos effici ſolere, harum rerum periti confirmant[a]. Plinius, *Leonem marmoreum* in Inſula Cypro extitiſſe ait, *cui oculi ex ſmaragdis radiantibus inditi eſſent*[b]. Et Pauſanias Minervæ ſimulachrum commemorat, cujus oculi cærulei erant[c].

Hanc oculos conficiendi artem, opifices quidam proprii, atque a ſculptoribus diverſi, exercuiſſe videntur: de quorum grege M. Rapilium, in Inſcriptione quadam antiqua celebratum legimus,

M. RAPILIVS. SERAPIO. HIC
AB. ARA. MARMOR.
OCVLOS. REPOSVIT. STATVIS.
QVOAD. VIXIT. BENE[d].

Atque hinc ex Icunculis hiſce, nonnullæ oculis penitus deſtitutæ, foraminibus jam vacuis relictis, reperiuntur; quibus oculi ſcilicet vel ob vetuſtatem delapſi, vel ob pretium abrepti eſſent. At in noſtra imagine, nil niſi album oculi argenteum fuiſſe apparet, cujus in medio foramen adhuc concavum reſtat, in quod gemma olim aliqua pupillæ loco inſerta fuiſſet. Ex quo intelligere poſſumus, quantum artifices iſti veteres operum ſuorum laudem ex oculorum acie pendere exiſtimaverint, quantamque ideo in iis fingendis curam atque induſtriam poſuerint.

SECT. II.

FIgura ſecunda, Gladiatoris effigiem æneam nobis oſtendit, ſed ex quo Gladiatorum genere aut factione, haud facile dici poteſt. Nam etiamſi multæ hujuſmodi figuræ in libris deſcriptæ ac pervulgatæ ſint, attamen nudæ plerumque, neque armis ullis, quibus factiones iſtæ maxime diſtinguebantur, inſtructæ apparent. Nudos eos quidem depugnare ſolitos, ab antiquis traditum eſt. *Homo*, inquit Seneca, *ſacra res*, *jam per ludum jocumque occiditur: et quem erudiri ad inferenda accipiendaque vulnera nefas erat*, *is jam nudus inermiſque producitur*, *ſatiſque ſpectaculi in homine mors eſt*[e].

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[a] Oſſervaz. Iſtorich. Sopr. Alcun. Medaglion. Da Fil. Buonarotti. Pr. xii.

[b] Lib. 37. 5.

[c] Lib. 1. 14.

[d] Spon. Miſcell. Sect. 6. p. 232. it. Inſcript. Antiqu. Etrur. Vol. 1. p. 406.

Gladiatoris autem noſtri caput vel galeæ ſpecie quadam, vel pileo potius, libertatis ſymbolo, tectum eſt. Etenim galea, quam Gladiatorum pleriſque communem eſſe ſcimus, non caput modo, ſed faciem quoque penitus obtegiſſe videtur.

> —— —— *Nec Myrmillonis in armis,*
> *Nec Clypeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce ſupina,*
> *Nec galea faciem abſcondit*[f]——

Bonannius, qui duas quoque Gladiatorum figuras, ex ære fictas edidit, omnes ejuſdemmodi Icunculas, Marti ſeu Herculi, ob victoriam aliquam partam, libertatemve conceſſam, ex voto donatas eſſe arbitratur[g]. Atque in hunc igitur finem Icunculam item noſtram, effectam olim eſſe judicemus: neque enim ratio ulla probabilior inveniri facile poterit, quamobrem tantum earum numerum vel hodie extantem reperiamus. Ad quem quidem figuras iſtas conſecrandi morem Tertullianus quaſi alludere videtur, cum meliorem *Homicidam*, *laudem ſuam conſecratione penſare*, ſcribit[h].

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[e] Sen. Epiſt. 95. vid. item Ep. 7.

[f] Juven. S. 8. 200. vid. item. Fabrett. Column. Trajan. c. 8. p. 258, 259. ubi Batonis, Gladiatoris galeam videre licet, et duos Genios pileum libertatis, victori cuidam Circenſi deferentes.

[g] Muſeum. Kircher. p. 70.

[h] De Reſurrection. Carn: p. 590.

SECT.

SECT. III.

ALiæ duæ Icunculæ reſtant, mihi tamen haud ita cognitæ, ut quidquam de eis certi ſtature audeam. At quoniam in argumento prorſus conjecturali verſamur, alteram, cujus capiti æneo antiqui operis, thorax e marmore recens accommodatur, Germanici fortaſſe effigiem; alteram autem æneam, ex oris habitu, comarumque ornatu, vel Ægyptii alicujus, vel Etruſci potius Herois ſimulachrum eſſe conjicerem.

TABULA XV.

INſtrumenta hujuſmodi ænea, qualia in hac et ſequenti Tabula delineata damus, anſis longiuſculis, et ſculptili opere ornata, quorumque exemplaria, in rerum antiquarum collectionibus, vel hodie etiam bene multa reperiuntur, ab eruditorum pleriſque Pateræ vocantur[i]. At vero Pateram, nihil aliud ac poculi genus quoddam fuiſſe, perſpicuum eſt; cujus quidem uſus tam in conviviis, quam in ſacrificiis, a ſcriptoribus fere omnibus celebratur. "In poculis, inquit Varro, "erant pateræ, eo quod pateant, latine ita dictæ. Hiſce "etiam nunc in publico convivio, antiquitatis retinendæ cauſa, "cum magiſtri fiunt, potio circumfertur; et in ſacrificando, "hoc poculo magiſtratus dat Deo vinum[k]." Macrobius item, "Pateram, uti nomen ipſum indicio eſt, poculum planum ac "patens eſſe, dicit[l]."

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[i] Vid. Cauſei Muſe. Rom. Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 538, 542. Cabinet de S. Genev. p. 10, &c.

[k] De ling. lat. l. 4. Cicero a Thucydide traditum ſcribit, Themiſtoclem, cum taurum immolaviſſet, excepiſſe ſanguinem patera, et eo poto mortuum concidiſſe. [in Brut. 43. Ed. Lamb.] Iſidorus item, Pateræ inquit ſunt dictæ, vel quod in ipſis potare ſolemus, vel quod patentes ſunt, diſpanſis labris. Origin. l. 20. 5.

[l] Saturn. l. 5. 21.

Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque popoſcit
Implevitque mero pateram
Ille impiger hauſit
Spumantem pateram et pleno ſe proluit auro[m].

Ex his, aliiſque veterum teſtimoniis apparet, pateras, Vaſcula quædam concava et capacia fuiſſe, quibus vinum vel in conviviis largiter bibere, vel in ſacrificiis Diis libare, vel in cornua victimæ fundere, vel ſanguinem ejus excipere ſolerent; ad quæ quidem munera, has noſtras figuras, ob ſuperficiem planam atque æquabilem, inhabiles omnino atque inutiles eſſe, vel primo intuitu declarare licet. At vero germanam paterarum effigiem, in ſculpturis numiſmatibuſque antiquis, in quibus ſacrificium aliquod ſolenne deſcribitur, in ſacrificantis uſque manu cernimus; rotundam ſcilicet, et concavam, neque anſa ulla aut manubrio inſtructam[n].

Itaque Begerus Cauſeum, ceteroſque rerum antiquarum interpretes, jure reprehendit, qui figuras ejuſmodi planas atque anſatas, paterarum nomine appellant; quas ille quidem, Iſidori auctoritate, Apophoretas vocat; quibus poma ſeu bellaria quælibet in conviviis, cœnantibus dari ſolita, contendit[o]. At hæc eadem inſtrumenta, Vir doctus Bonannius patellas vocat[p]; quibus epulas nimirum Diis Laribus apponere conſueverunt.

Et libate dapes; ut grati pignus honoris
Nutriat incinctos miſſa patella Lares[q].

Hinc Varro a Nonio citatus, *Quocirca*, inquit, *oportet bonum civem legibus parere, et Deos colere, atque in patellam dare* μικρὸν κρέας,

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[m] Virg. Æn. 1. 732.
Supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem
Excipiunt pateris —— ibid.

[n] Vid. Columm. Trajan. Tab. 67, 74, 78. it. Du Choul. Relig. Vet. Rom. p. 96, 135, &c.

[o] Theſaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 424.

[p] Muſe. Kircher. p. 12. Tab. 5.

[q] Ovid. Faſtor. l. 2. 633.
Fert miſſos Veſtæ pura patella cibos.
ibid. l. 6. v. 310.

paullulum carnis[r]. De his autem patellis, quod Diis appoſitum eſſet, comedere, tanquam hominis ſumme impii indicium a Cicerone commemoratur; *atqui reperiemus*, inquit, *aſotos, primum ita non religioſos, ut edant de patella*[ſ].

Sed patellas item iſtas, perinde ac pateras, concavas fuiſſe, atque a noſtris propterea diverſas, certiſſimum eſt: quippe quæ oleribus obſoniiſque interdum coquendis, atque in menſam etiam ponendis inſerviiſſe dicuntur.

Nec modica cœnare times olus omne patella[t].

Montfauconius igitur, in rebus antiquis omnium ſane verſatiſſimus, de inſtrumentorum noſtrorum uſu ac nomine, nihil omnino ſtatui poſſe putat, donec e veterum monumentis, quiddam nondum viſum eruatur, quod lucem aliquam majorem ad hanc litem dirimendam præbeat[u].

At quocunque demum nomine hæc vaſcula appellanda ſint, hoc ſaltem ex eorum forma perſpicuum videtur, ea videlicet nonniſi ad aridum aliquid, vel in ſacrificando Diis, vel in cœnando convivis, offerendum, inventa atque adhibita eſſe.

Quod vero ad res potiſſimum divinas olim pertinuiſſent, ex figuris in eis inſculptis, conjicere licet; quæ Deorum fere fabellas, imagineſque eas exhibent, quibus vaſcula potiſſimum ſacra ornari ſolita accepimus. " Apud Siculos, inquit Cicero, ante " Verrem Prætorem, domus erat nulla paullo locupletior, qua " in domo hæc non eſſent, etiamſi præterea nihil eſſet argenti: " patella grandis cum ſigillis ac ſimulachris Deorum; patera,

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[r] Non. Marcell. c. 15. 6. Hinc Dii Lares, Patellarii dicti. Plaut. Ciſt. 2. 1. 46.

[ſ] De Finib. 2. 22.

[t] Hor. Epiſt. l. 1. 5. v. 2.

Quamvis lata gerat patella Rhombum
Rhombus latior eſt tamen patella.
Mart. Epig. 13. 81.

Plinius item pulmentarium in patellis decoctum commemorat. [Hiſt. N. l. 13. 8. ad fin.] Atque apud Varronem legimus, multifariam in patellis coquere cæpe. in Fragm. p. 71.

[u] Antiqu. Vol. 2. l. 3. c. 5. §. 4.

“ qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur; Thuribulum: hæc “ autem omnia antiquo opere et ſummo artificio facta[w].” Jam ex hoc loco, *Pateræ iſtæ, quibus mulieres uterentur*, a reliquis omnibus, ad communem uſum adhibitis, diſtingui videntur: neque alienum ſane exiſtimari poteſt, genus quoddam paterarum ornatius, leviuſque mulierum præcipue uſui dicatum fuiſſe; e quibus vini modo pauxillulum fundere, ad libationes rite faciendas ſufficeret: et ſi talis paterarum diſtinctio, a nemine, quod ſciam, memorata, revera tamen extitiſſe inveniretur, conjicerem ſane, inſtrumenta hæc noſtra de paterarum earum claſſe fuiſſe, quæ fœminarum propriæ haberentur. Nam etiamſi nulla eorum figura vel in marmoribus vel numiſmatibus unquam viſa ſit, in quibus ſacrificium aliquod a viris celebratum exprimitur; in Priapi tamen ſacrificio ſupra memorato, atque a mulieribus confecto, vaſculi ſpeciem quandam, his noſtris haud abſimilem, mulieris cujuſdam in manu cernimus, quæ de Sacerdotum numero eſſe apparet[x]. Atqui hoc tanquam incertum penitus, nec niſi conjectura quadam extemporali fultum, aliis diligentius inveſtigandum relinquo.

SECT. II.

IN hac patera, mulieris Cygno inſidentis effigies inſculpta eſt; quæ dextra collum avis amplectitur, ſiniſtra ſpeculum orbiculare tenet: quod ad Ledæ certe hiſtoriolam, a Poetis fere omnibus decantatam, referendum arbitror. De qua quidem fabella, Helena, Ledæ filia, ad Paridem ita ſcribens, ab Ovidio inducitur.

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[w] In Verr. lib. 4. 21.

[x] Vid. Boiſſard. Vol. 1. par. 2. it. Montfauc. Vol. 1. par. 2. lib. 1. c. 28. Tab. 83. 9.

Dat mihi Leda Jovem Cygno decepta parentem,
Quæ falſam gremio credula fovit avem[y].

Ledam autem ipſam, in ſpeculo ſeſe contemplantem, ac forma oris eximia, qua Jovem ipſum ſubegerat, quaſi exultantem videmus[z].

Seu pendent nivea pulli cervice capilli,
Leda fuit nigra conſpicienda coma[z].

TABULA XVI.

FIguræ in hac patera inſculptæ, et vetuſtate, et vaſculi ipſius effractione quadam, ita mutilatæ ac pæne obliteratæ ſunt, ut haud jam dignoſci aut deſcribi facile queant. Tres tamen hominum vel Deorum potius imagines cernimus; quarum duæ, ora ſibi mutuo obverſæ, atque eodem plane geſtu, altero nimirum pede in terram, altero ſupra amphoram poſito, inter ſeſe quaſi colloquentes finguntur. Hiſce duabus imaginibus, tertia item media interjecta eſt, figura ſcilicet muliebris ſedens, cujus ima tantum pars jam reſtat, reliqua penitus deleta: hanc vero Minervam eſſe conjicio, ex clypei ſpecie quadam ei adjuncta, quæ os Gorgonis præ ſe ferre videtur. Atque in aliis etiam hujuſmodi pateris, Heroum interdum Deorumque figuras, hac eadem poſitura, inter ſeſe colloquentes animadverti[a].

Sculpturæ denique genus præſtantiamque quod attinet: illa quidem, in his noſtris, perinde ac in omnibus, quæ vidi, ejuſdemmodi inſtrumentis, nonniſi levi admodum opere, in ſumma æris ſuperficie exarata eſt; ubi omnis artificis cura in eo poſita apparet, ut lineæ modo extremæ rerum ipſarum formam aliquam rudem, ac ſimilitudinem præ ſe ferrent.

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[y] Ovid. Epiſt. Helen. ad Parid. v. 55.

[z] Id. Amor. l. 2. El. 4. v. 41.

[a] Vid. Montfauc. Atiqu. Vol. 2. l. 3. c. 5. it. Cauſæi Muſ. Roman. p. 84. Tab. 20. &c.

TABULA XVII.

HAſtæ antiquæ ſpiculum ſive cuſpidem æneam in hac Tabula deſcriptam cernimus, una cum inſtrumentis duobus fabrilibus, ex ære pariter conflatis: quæ primo quidem aſpectu antiquiſſima certe, nec niſi eorum temporum fuiſſe diceremus, quibus ferrum vel nondum cognitum, vel, quod magis mirum eſt, nonniſi raro uſurpatum; quibuſque Romanorum etiam gladii, quales illi quidem ex urbis veteris ruinis jam ſæpe effoſſi dicuntur, ex ære quoque conflati erant.

Nam prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus uſus[b].

At vero Ennius, vel priſcis iſtis Reipublicæ ſeculis, enſes, haſtas, atque arma fere omnia, ferrea fuiſſe teſtatur.

Haſtati ſpargunt haſtas, ſit ferreus imber[c].
Tum Clypei reſonant et ferri ſtridet acumen[d].

Lucretius quoque eam ipſam ferri indurandi artem, qua vel hodie utimur, tanquam communem atque omnibus cognitam, commemorat.

Humor aquæ porro ferrum condurat ab igni[e].

Atque hac demum arte inventa, enſes ferreos in æneorum locum ſucceſſiſſe, atque inſtrumenta omnia, quibus ex ære antea uſi eſſent, abjecta, et cum ferreis commutata eſſe declarat.

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[b] Lucret. 5. 1286.

[c] Vid. Enn. Fragmen. p. 81. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

[d] Ib. p. 95. vid. it. p. 80, 50. 56, &c.

[e] l. 6. 968.

Inde minutatim proceſſit ferreus enſis,
Verſaque in opprobrium ſpecies eſt falcis ahenæ,
Et ferro cæpere ſolum proſcindere terræ[f].

Virgilius item, et enſes, et haſtas quoque ferreas plurimis locis memorat.—

Bina manu lato criſpans haſtilia ferro[g].
Haud ſecus inſtructi ferro, quam ſi aſpera Martis
Pugna vocet[h]——

Vitruvius denique, qui Auguſti ætate floruiſſe dicitur, *Machinam iſtam bellicam, quæ aries dicitur, roſtrum de ferro duro, perinde ac naves etiam longas, habuiſſe,* ſcribit[i]. Quod ab ipſis arietum, naviumque roſtris, adhuc extantibus, quorum nonnulla ipſe vidi, confirmatur.

Cum ferri igitur uſus temporibus iſtis cognitus ac familiaris fuiſſe appareat, illud profecto mirum videtur, quod ad armorum eorum fabricam, quorum vis virtuſque omnis ex metalli duritie, mucroniſque ſubtilitate pendent, æs tamen adhiberetur: nam ita ſeſe rem habuiſſe, hæc noſtra inſtrumenta, atque alia ejuſdem generis permulta, in libris paſſim deſcripta, demonſtrant; quæ quidem omnia poſt ferrum inventum ex ære fabricata eſſe, promiſcuumque diu cum ferro ipſo uſum obtinuiſſe, certiſſimum eſt. Virgilius enim, quem de ferro, tanquam pugnæ ac Marti proprio, loquentem modo induximus, haſtas tamen, enſeſque ac proras etiam navium, æratas vocat.

Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æreus enſis[k].
Quot prius æratæ ſteterant ad littora proræ[l].

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[f] l. 5. 1292.

[g] Æn. 12. 165.

[h] Ib. 124.

[i] Lib. x. c. 21. vid. etiam Amm. Marcell. l. 23. c. 4.

[k] Æn. 7. 743.

[l] ib. 9. 122. it. 463.

Attamen hujuſmodi omnia, commentatorum pleroſque tanquam poetice dicta, interpretari ſcio, et æs, vocem metallis omnibus communem eſſe, nec niſi de ferro in iſtis locis intelligi debere, contendunt[m]. Sed *gladii ipſi ænei, haſtarumque et ſagittarum cuſpides ex ære quoque conflatæ*, quarum ingens plane numerus ex urbi antiquæ ruderibus ad hanc uſque ætatem conſervatus eſt, interpretationem iſtam prorſus refellunt[n], promiſcuumque æris ac ferri uſum per multa ſecula duraſſe confirmant. Quæ quidem utraque a Cicerone, tanquam belli inſtrumenta, et Marti propia, commemorantur[o].

Plutarchus, Ariſtotele auctore, tradit, *vulnera illa, quæ ſpiculis gladii æneis infliguntur, minorem efficere dolorem, faciliuſque ſanari poſſe quam quæ ferreis; propterea quod æs virtutem quandam medicinalem in ſe habeat, quam in vulnere ipſo ſtatim deponit*[p]. Si ob hanc igitur rationem, vanam licet ac futilem, veteres iſtos, humanitatis ſenſu commotos, arma ænea uſurpaſſe arbitraremur; cur fabrorum tamen ſculptorumque inſtrumenta ex ære etiam fecerint, mihi ſane permirum, nec ullo modo explicabile videtur.

De Haſtæ noſtræ ætate, aut ubinam demum terrarum reperta fuerit, nihil equidem habeo, quod liquet. Sin conjecturis indulgere liceat, cum præacutam eam, uſuque ſimul rubigine attritam videmus, haud ſcio, an in camporum eorum aliquo, ubi de Romæ ipſius fato decertatum eſſet, Pharſalico nimirum, Mutinenſi, aut Philippico, inventam eſſe dicamus; ſecundum celebre iſtud Virgilii vaticinium;

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[m] Vid. Notas Lud. de la Cerda in Virg. Æn. x. 482. it. Fabrett. Col. Traj. 109.

[n] Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 4. l. 2. c. 7.

[o] Jam æs atque ferrum, duelli inſtrumenta non fani. Leg. 2. 18.

[p] Plut. Sympoſ. 3. c. ult. De hac vulnerum medicina ab æris rubigine petenda, celebris quædam fabella, a Poetis fere omnibus decantata, apud antiquos ferebatur. Telephus enim, Myſiæ rex, cum ab Achille graviter vulneratus eſſet, nec remedium ullum invenire poſſet, ab Oraculo hoc reſponſum accepit, *ut ab eo, a quo vulnus acceperat, ſanaretur.* Ab Achille igitur opem petiit, qui haſtæ ejus rubiginem, qua eum feriiſſet, ad vulnus adhibens, illud ſtatim ſanavit.

Ego Telephon haſta
Pugnantem domui, victum orantemque refeci.
Ov. Met. 13. 171.

Myſus et Hæmonia juvenis qua cuſpide vulnus
Senſerat, hac ipſa cuſpide ſenſit opem.
Propert. 2. 1.

Et ſic, inquit Plinius, *Telephum proditur ſanaſſe Achilles, ſive id ærea ſive ferrea cuſpide fecit. Ita certe depingitur eam decutiens gladio.* Hiſt. N. 34. 15.

Scilicet et tempus veniet, quo finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exeſa inveniet ſcabra rubigine pila[q].

SECT. II.

FIguræ ſecundæ, aliam item conſimilem, ac plane parem, a Comite Maſcardo Veronenſi, deſcriptam obſervavi; quam auctor iſte nobilis, jaculi ſeu ſaggittæ, qualis e catapulta olim emitti ſoleret, cuſpidem fuiſſe dicit[r]. Montfauconius autem, qui tres quatuorve ejuſdem generis ac formæ e diverſis muſeis protulit, eas nonniſi ſculptorum inſtrumenta eſſe declarat, quibus ſcilicet, ad lapides in formas quaſlibet fingendos, utebantur[ſ].

SECT. III.

FIgura tertia ſculptoris certe inſtrumentum fuit; ac celebrioris fortaſſe cujuſdam, quatenus ex inſtrumenti ipſius ornatu, ac ſculptili opere, conjectare liceat. Mucronem ejus, rubigine paullulum deterſa, auri penitus nitorem exæquare reperii: Plinius nempe, " æs auro quondam argentoque con" fuſum eſſe dicit, ac tria ejus genera recenſet: Candidum,

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[q] Georg. 1. 493.

[r] Vid. Muſeo Di Ludov. Moſcardo. p. 305.

[ſ] Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. l. 5. c. 1. Tab. 60.

“ argento nitore quam proxime accedens, in quo illa mixtura prævaluit: alterum, in quo auri fulva natura: tertium, in quo æqualis omnium temperies fuit[t].” Strabo etiam lapidem commemorat, “ qui combuſtus in ferrum tranſit: et in camino deinde cum terra quadam excoctus pſeudargyrum ſtillat; cui ubi æs additum eſt, temperamentum fit, quod nonnulli orichalchum vocant[u]:” quod orichalchum vero iſtud auri plane pulchritudinem exæquaverit, neque alterum fere ab altero dignoſci potuerit, ex Cicerone intelligimus, qui de hac ipſa re quæſtionem inſtituit, *ſiquis aurum vendens orichalchum ſe putet vendere, indicetne ei vir bonus, aurum illud eſſe? an emat denario quod ſit mille denarium*[w]. Quamobrem ex orichalcho fortaſſe, ſeu temperatura iſtiuſmodi aliqua, inſtrumentum noſtrum conflatum eſſe puto.

TABULA XVIII.

JAM vero nummorum, quos omnium primos a Romanis ex ære ſignatos accepimus, ſeriem quandam hic deſcriptam damus. Quorum quidem pleroſque Romæ dudum ipſe collegeram, nonnullos autem, ibi quoque repertos, a viro mihi amiciſſimo, et cum ingenii acumine, tum literis omnibus politioribus ornatiſſimo, Daniele Wray, S. R. S. dono accepi.

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[t] Hiſt. N. 34. 2.

[u] L. 13. p. 908. Edit. Amſtel. 1707.

[w] Cicer. Offic. l. 3. 23. Iſidorus de Aurichalcho loquens, *ſit autem*, inquit, *ex ære et igne multo, ac medicamentis perducitur ad aureum colorem: nomenque ex lingua Latina et Græca compoſitum dicit.* [l. 16. c. 19.] ſed errare prorſus videtur, nam Orichalchum ab antiquis ſcriptum, atque a Græco penitus fonte derivatum eſſe, conſtat. [vid. Feſtum in voce et Fabri notas. it. Plinii Hiſt. Nat. 34. 2.] Atqui ex his veterum teſtimoniis colligere licet, iſtud æris temperamentum, quod jam auri plane nitorem exæquat, quodque Pinchbackii, Opificis Londinenſis, nomine celebratum eſt, non horum temporum inventum eſſe, ſed antiquis in uſu communi fuiſſe.

Æris ſignandi originem, a ſcriptoribus fere omnibus ad fabulas, Janumque referri invenio. Athenæus a Dracone Corcyræo memoriæ proditum ſcribit, "Janum e Græcia in Italiam migraſſe, montemque ibi juxta Tyberim occupaſſe, Janiculum poſtea ab eo dictum: ac inter alia, in vitæ humanæ commodum, ab eo excogitata, coronas et rates, et navigia inveniſſe; omniumque primum, nummos præſertim æneos ſignaſſe; in cujus beneficii memoriam, multas deinde Græciæ, Italiæ, ac Siciliæ urbes, in nummis ſuis, ex altera parte Janum bicipitem, ex altera, ratem vel navem, vel coronam inſculpſiſſe[x]." Alii vero rem paullo aliter tradunt; "Saturnum ſcilicet, a Jove filio expulſum, ad Janum confugiſſe; qui eum benigne admodum excepit, atque in regni ſocietatem admiſit; et quo adventus ejus memoriam in poſteros propagaret, æra, ex altera parte, capitis ſui, ex altera navis effigie ſignavit[y]."

Atqui hæc profecto de Jano Rege, apud priſcos eos fama conſtans ferebatur; eum videlicet in Etruria diu ac feliciter regnaſſe, atque ob multa deinde beneficia, in hominum genus collata, omnium mortalium primum, in Deorum numerum relatum eſſe.

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[x] Deipnoſ. l. 15. c. 13. p. 692. Quod vero ab Athæneo hoc loco de nummis iſtis traditur, a Siciliæ ac Magnæ Græciæ nummis antiquis, adhuc extantibus, plane confirmatur; in quibus, ex altera parte, Jani bicipitis, ex altera, coronæ vel navis ſæpe effigiem videmus. Vid. Sicil. de Phil. Parut. p. 142, 143.

[y] Macrob. Sat. 1. 7. p. 217. Lactant. Div. Inſtit. c. 13. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 274.

Atque hanc quidem famam ad Ovidii certe ætatem manſiſſe, conſtat; qui Janum de hac ipſa re ſecum colloquentem, et quærenti ſibi, cur in nummis hiſce, Imago biceps, naviſque inſculptæ fuerint, rem ita exponentem inducit.

Multa quidem didici. Sed cur navalis in ære.
Altera ſignata eſt, altera forma biceps?
Noſcere me duplici poſſes in imagine, dixit,
Ni vetus ipſa dies extenuaret opus.
Cauſa ratis supereſt. Thuſcum rate venit in amnem,
Ante pererrato Falcifer orbe Deus.
Hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum,
Cælitibus regnis ab Jove pulſus erat.
Inde diu genti manſit Saturnia nomen,
Dicta quoque eſt Latium terra, latente Deo.
At bona poſteritas puppim ſervavit in ære,
Hoſpitis adventum teſtificata Dei.

Publica quem primum vota preceſque vocant[z].

Forma autem ejus biceps nihil aliud denotare videtur, ac circumſpectionem iſtam et ſollertiam, quæ ex præteritorum memoria, futurorumque prudentia oritur; quamque Homerus, ſeni cuivis cauto ac provido attribuit, *ὃς ἅμα πρόσσω ϗ ὀπίσσω λεύσσει.* Qui a fronte pariter atque a tergo proſpicit[a].

At vero Romæ quiſnam æra primus ſignaverit, haud ſatis compertum habemus. Suidas, Tranquilli auctoritate, ad Numam rem defert; atque æs ita ſignatum, de nomine ejus, nummum vocari ait, quum ante id tempus, coriorum tantum ſegmenta, aut teſtas, nummorum loco adhibuiſſent[b]. Plinius autem, quem jam omnes fere ſequuntur, *Servium Tullium æs primum ſignaſſe ſcribit*, quo rudi antea uſi eſſent, ſignatum vero *nota pecudum eſſe*, unde pecunia appellata[c]. Attamen hac pecudum nota, quam boum oviumve effigiem eſſe dicit[d], nonniſi majorum ponderum nummos ſignatos fuiſſe cenſeo; eos nimirum, quos cum mercibus iſtis commutare poſſent, quibuſcum boves antea, oveſve commutare ſolebant. Æris enim lamina duarum librarum, as dupondius vel dupondium vocabatur; trium librarum, Treſſis; quatuor, Quadruſſis; et ſic uſque ad Centuſſim, ſeu centum aſſium pondus, quem nummorum æneorum maximum fuiſſe, ex Varrone diſcimus[e]. De hac autem nummorum claſſe, duos omnino Quadruſſes, bovis effigie ſignatos, vel in curioſorum Muſeis aſſervatos, vel in libris deſcriptos vidi[f]. In aſſe vero librali, ejuſve partibus, quorum plurima adhuc exemplaria reſtant, nullam unquam bovis oviſve effigiem, unica tantum excepta, inſculptam animadverti[g].

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[z] Mart. Epig. l. x. 28. Principem in ſacrificando Janum eſſe voluerunt. Cic. Nat. Deor. 2. 27.

[a] Iliad. 3. 109. Quali etiam prudentia Plinius, Mauricum fuiſſe dicit, multis experimentis eruditum, et qui futura poſſet, ex præteritis providere. Epiſt. l. 1. 5.

[b] Suid. in voce Aſſarion.

[c] Hiſt. Nat. 33. 3.

[d] Ibid. 18. 3.

[e] Quo majus æris vocabulum non eſt. De ling. lat. l. 4.

[f] Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. par. 1. c. 9. Tab. 27.

SECT. I.

PRimus iſte nummus, germana Aſſis libralis imago eſt: ejus prorſus generis, quod Romæ olim, vel a Numa, vel Servio Rege, omnium primum ſignatum eſſe liquet. Ex quo idem illud, quod ab aliis Italiæ ac Siciliæ civitatibus factum eſſe, ſupra memoravimus, Reges quoque Romanos feciſſe, Janique memoriam in nummis ſuis celebraſſe, videmus. Cujus forma biceps ex altera Aſſis noſtri parte, ex altera, Mercurii caput ſignatum eſt: quem quidem Deum, tanquam lucri auctorem, commerciique præſidem, priſcos iſtos invocaſſe cognovimus.

Te quicunque ſuas profitetur vendere merces,
Thure dato, tribuas ut ſibi lucra, rogat[h]

Iſtud vero, ſive falx, ſeu quodvis aliud inſtrumentum fuerit, quod juxta Mercurii caput exſculptum prominet, nihil aliud eſſe a viris doctis putatur, ac nota quædam, qua æris ſignandi artifices, officinam quiſque ſuam, nam quatuor Romæ inſtitutæ dicuntur, pro arbitrio diſtinguere conſueverunt.

Aſſem antiquorum libralem, uncias æris duodecim, et pondere et pretio exæquaſſe, notiſſimum eſt: cujus partes primariæ, in communi maxime uſu tritæ, ſæpiuſque idcirco a ſcriptoribus memoratæ, hæ ſunt; Semiſſis, ſive pars dimidia, ſex unciarum; Triens, ſeu pars tertia, quatuor unciarum; Quadrans, ſeu pars quarta, trium unciarum; Sextans, ſeu pars ſexta duarum unciarum; Uncia denique ſive Stips uncialis, pars duodecima. Quorum quidem nummorum omnium, ſextante tantum excepto, exemplaria jam perpulchra quædam lectori contemplanda damus.

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[g] Vid. Cabin. S. Genev. Pariſ. a Molineto edit.

[h] Ovid. Faſt. 5. 671.

——grates habeo—
Simul Mercurio, qui me in mercimoniis
Juvit, lucriſque quadruplicavit rem meam.
Plut. Stich. 3. 1.

Inſcriptio item antiqua extat apud Gruterum. p. 55. 1.

MERCVRIO. NEGOTIATORI
SACRVM.
NVMISIVS ALBINVS
EX VOTO.

SECT. II.

SEcundus nummus, ſemiſſis eſt, ut littera, S, nota ejuſdem propria, utrinque inſculpta indicat. Ex altera parte, capite ſenili, laureato, vel Jovis Capitolini, vel Servii fortaſſe Regis, æris ſignandi auctoris; ex altera, navis effigie ſignatur.

SECT. III.

TErtius item, Semiſſis eſt, ſed rubigine haud parum attritus, et cui littera, S, vetuſtate jam fere evanuit. Hic autem Pegaſi effigie utrinque ſignatus eſt: cujus quidem ratio haud explicatu facilis videtur, ni cum Begero, Pegaſum, tanquam Corinthi ſymbolum, ad Tarquinii Priſci, Corintho oriundi, originem celebrandam, a Servio ejus ſucceſſore et privigno adhibitum cenſeamus[i]. Quippe Pegaſum in Syracuſarum item nummis; quæ Corinthi colonia fuit, perſæpe ſignatum cernimus; perinde ac in Familiarum etiam Romanarum nonnullis, in quibus litteræ, COR, interdum inſcriptæ, eos ad Corinthum reſpectum aliquem habere, et vel ab Achaiæ Prætore, vel alio quovis magiſtratu, Corinthi cum imperio degente, percuſſos eſſe, indicant[k].

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[i] Vid. Theſaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 80.

[k] Vid. Sicil. di Phil. Paruta, deſcritt. con. Medagl. p. 48. &c. it. Morell. Theſaur. in Famil. Bellia et Cæcilia. Tab. 2. Numm. A. iv. B. c.

SECT. IV.

QUartus, Triens eſt; tertia pars Aſſis, quatuor uncias compleƈtens, totidemque punƈtis notatus. Nam ſingulæ Aſſis partes iſtiuſmodi punƈtis, unciarum numerum denotantibus, inter ſeſe diſtingui ſolebant. Hic autem Triens, ex utraque parte, capitis equini effigie ſignatur; quod quidem ſignum, in aliis quoque Romanorum nummis nonnunquam animadverti: a priſcis iſtis idcirco fortaſſe adhibitum, ut bellicam eam virtutem, animumque ferocem indicarent, quibus populus Romanus omnes gentes ſuperaturus eſſet: ob quam etiam cauſam, urbis ipſius fundator, Romulus, equos ad bellum aluiſſe, ludoſque equeſtres inſtituiſſe traditur[l].

Hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit[m].

Atque hinc equum, tanquam Marti dicatum, ac bello utilem, et bellatoris etiam nomine a Poëtis latinis celebratum legimus.

Bello armantur equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur[n].

SECT. V.

QUintus, Quadrantem, ſeu quartam aſſis partem exhibet, trium unciarum nummum, tribuſque ideo punƈtis notatum: is autem manu aperta, fidei videlicet, in mercibus nummiſque permutandis, ſymbolo, ex utraque parte ſignatus eſt.

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[l] Equiria, ludi, quos Romulus Marti inſtituit, per equorum curſum. Feſt. it. Ovid. Faſt. 2. 859.
Poſt bellator equus, poſitis inſignibus, Æthon.
——ib. xi. 89.
Vid. it. Georgic. 3. 84. Lucret. 2. 660. Stat. Thebaid. 2. 66.

[m] Hor. Od. l. 3. 3.

[n] Virg. Æn. 3. 540.

SECT. VI.

SExtus, ſtips uncialis, ſive uncia eſt, aſſis libralis pars duodecima; unico puncto notatus: atque ex altera parte, vaſculi cujuſdam ſacrificalis, ex altera, litui auguralis effigie ſignatus.

SECT. VII.

SEptimus item, ſtips uncialis eſſe videtur, ex utraque parte ſecuris, opinor, ac clavæ ſpecie quadam inſignitus.

Quod hi autem nummi, aſſem, ut ſupra dixi libralem, parteſque ejus revera exhibeant, ex ponderibus eorum inter ſe collatis, perſpicuum eſt. As enim antiquus duodecim uncias continebat, quæ quidem unciæ ejuſdem plane momenti erant, ac iſtæ, quas Gallico nomine, Averdupois vocamus, atque ad merces varias ponderandas hodie adhibemus. Uncia enim vetus Romana ex granis quadringentis et triginta octo conſtabat, hanc ſcilicet noſtram, grani tantum unius dimidio, exſuperans[*]. Hæc vero æra, quum figuris, e ſuperficie eminentibus, ac majori idcirco attritui obnoxiis, ſignata ſint, haud parvam ſane, poſt tot elapſa ſecula, ponderis antiqui diminutionem ſubiiſſe reperiuntur; nec majorem tamen, quam quæ ex annorum bis mille vetuſtate et rubigine expectari facile poterat: nam quædam eorum, partem ſolummodo octavam, alia ſextam, alia autem quartam, pro variis, quos ſubierant, caſibus, amiſſiſſe videbimus.

	Unc.	Gran.
As noſter jam continet - - -	10	10
Semiſſis - - - - -	4	366
Semiſſis alter - - -	4	239

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[*] Vid. Hooper on Ancient Meaſ. p. 10, 14. it. Arbuthn. Tab. 7. Note 1.

Triens. o o o o	- - -	3	283
Quadrans. o o o	- -	2	179
Stips Uncialis. o	- -	o	347
Stips altera	- - - - -	o	327

Hæc profecto Æra, monumentorum omnium, quæ a priſcis Romanis ad nos pervenerunt, vetuſtiſſima eſſe cenſeo: cujus rei indicium hoc mihi certiſſimum videtur, quod non typo aliquo impreſſa aut percuſſa, ſed ex ære fuſo conflata ſint; atque eis certe ſeculis, quibus æris feriendi ars nondum inventa erat[p]. At vero ante bellum Punicum primum, ſignata ea omnia fuiſſe neceſſe eſt: quippe eo bello, ut Plinius ait, “ cum impenſis “ Reſpublica non ſufficeret, pondus æris imminutum, conſti- “ tutumque, ut aſſes Sextantario pondere ferirentur; ita quin- “ que partes factæ lucri, diſſolutumque æs alienum. Nota “ æris fuit, ex altera parte Janus Geminus, ex altera roſtrum “ navis; in Triente vero et Quadrante rates—poſtea Anni- “ bale urgente, Q. Fabio maximo Dictatore, aſſes unciales “ facti——ita reſpublica dimidium lucrata eſt——mox lege “ Papiriana, ſemiunciales aſſes facti[q].” Ex quo Plinii teſtimonio, tres aſſis Romani diminutiones, diverſis temporibus publice conſtitutas, intelligimus; quibus as ſcilicet a pondere librali, primum ad ſextam, deinde ad duodecimam, tum ad viceſimam quartam ejus partem redactus eſt. Hoc autem interea lectori memoria tenendum, aſſem iſtum, utcunque pondere imminutum, in duodecim tamen partes æquales, atque idem uſque pretium obtinentes, quæ unciæ vocabantur, diviſum ſemper fuiſſe.

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[p] Omnes item Tuſcorum veterum nummi ænei, quos hodie extare cognovimus, quoſque cum in Dempſteri Etruria Regali. [Vol. 1. p. 350. et Append. 38.] tum in Gorii Muſeo Etruſco [p. 425. Tab. 196.] delineatos videmus, ex ære fuſo conflati ſunt: atque hoc ipſum Gorius inter Etruſcorum Romanorumque nummos diſcrimen ſtatuit, quod Etruſcorum ſemper fuſi, Romanorum impreſſi fuerint. [ibid. Vol. 2. p. 421.] at vero nullum iſtiuſmodi diſcrimen, aut ſcriptorum aut monumentorum veterum auctoritate confirmatum reperio: Romanoſque præſertim, in nummis ſignandis, hanc æris fundendi rationem per multa ſecula ſecutos eſſe, nec ante bellum fortaſſe Punicum, feriendi artem inveniſſe, ex aſſe noſtro librali, aliiſque permultis adhuc extantibus, probabile eſt.

Sed alias quaſdam diſcriminis notas inter nummos iſtos a Phil. Buonarotti conſtitutas animadverti; qui caput iſtud bifrons, quo ſignatos eos ſæpe videmus, in *nummis* Etruſcis, *juvenile et imberbe ac pileo tectum*, in Romanis contra, *barbatum ac nudum* ſemper inveniri, dicit. [Vid. Addend. ad Dempſt. Etrur. Reg. p. 38.] At hæc quoque diſtinctio nequaquam vera eſſe videtur; nam hac ratione, aſſem noſtrum libralem et Etruſcum et Romanum ſimul dicamus neceſſe erit; Etruſcum, quia capite bifronte, imberbi ac juvenili; Romanum, quia nudo nec pileato ſignatus eſt.

[q] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 33. 3.

TABULA XIX.

UT Aſſis modo libralis, partiumque ejus figuras, in Tabula ſuperiore exhibui, ita Aſſis jam imminuti, membrorumque ejus, germana quædam monumenta, in hac Tabula deſcribere progredior; quæ quidem omnia, ob æris feriendi artem, hoc temporis intervallo, ut videtur, inventam, non fuſa amplius aut conflata, ſed impreſſa aut percuſſa eſſe apparent.

SECT. I.

PRimus igitur nummus aſſem, ad ſextantis ſive duarum unciarum pondus, imminutum indicat; quem eodem plane modo ſignatum cernimus, quo Plinius aſſes ejus generis ſignatos eſſe memorat, ex altera parte, Jano Gemino, ex altera, roſtro navis. Infra navem vox, ROMA, at litteris jam fere evaneſcentibus, legitur: ſupra vero, Deæ Victoriæ effigies, lauream coronam manu geſtans, ad navem quaſi coronandam, advolare videtur; ob victoriam fortaſſe celebrem iſtam Duilianam, quæ primo Punico bello, quo hic ipſe nummus ſignatus fuit, contra Pænos parta eſt. Notam vero iſtam, ſeu litteram, I, quæ ſupra capita, navimque utrinque exſculpta

ſculpta eſt, tanquam ſignum aſſis proprium, ab eruditis intelligi reperio.

SECT. II.

SEcundus, aſſis ſextantarii pars dimidia, ſive ſemiſſis eſt, littera, S, utrinque notatus; atque ex altera parte, capite, corona laurea redimito, ex altera, roſtro navis, ſignatus. Infra navem vox, ROMA, at vetuſtate jam fere obliterata, inſcripta eſt.

SECT. III.

TErtius, aſſis ejuſdem pars tertia, ſive triens eſt, quatuor punctis notatus; cujus ex altera parte, Romæ caput galeatum, atque eleganter exſculptum; ex altera, rotæ ſpecies quædam cernitur; intra ſingulos cujus radios ſingulæ litteræ inſcriptæ apparent, artificis fortaſſe nomen, quaſi operis præſtantia ſuperbi, olim indicantes; ſed nimium jam attritæ, quam ut dignoſci facile queant. Atqui eandem etiam rotæ figuram, in Tuſcorum antiquorum nummis, unde Romani, hanc ipſam æris ſignandi artem accepiſſe dicuntur, interdum animadverti[r]; et quum ſigna iſtiuſmodi omnia ſymbolicum quiddam continere, a pleriſque exiſtimari video, haud ſcio, an hac rotæ imagine, volubilem nummorum conditionem, citumque de manu in manum tranſitum ſignificari, cenſendum ſit.

SECT. IV.

QUartus, aſſis ejuſdem pars quarta, ſive quadrans eſt, tribus puncts notatus: cujus ex altera parte, Herculis juvenis caput, pelle leonina tectum; ex altera roſtrum navis exſculptum eſt; ac ſupra navem vox ROMA. Herculis autem caput clavamque in nummis hiſce haud raro ſignari cernimus: quem quidem Deum, tanquam *Furum latronumque* propulſatorem, a pecunioſis præcipue invocari, ac *domum conſervatorem, magnumque Cuſtodem* appellari[s]; eidemque divites idcirco bonorum ſuorum decumas vovere ſolitos, legimus[t].

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[r] Vid. Dempſt. Etrur. Regal. Vol. 1. p. 350.

Hæc væniſſe jam opus eſt, quantum poteſt,
Uti decumam partem Herculi polluceam[u].

Jam nummorum item horum pondera, cum aſſis Sextantarii, partiumque ejus deſcriptione ſatis apte congruuut, niſi quod Quadrans pondus ejus legitimum aliquantulum exſuperet: atque hoc idem Montfauconius, ſe in hoc nummorum genere perſæpe inveniſſe declarat[w]. Quippe in nummis iſtiuſmodi feriendis, ſi æris percuſſi aliquid, quod accidere nonnunquam neceſſe erat, ultra modum punduſque nummi proprium forte adhæſiſſet, illud tamen opifices, in re tantilli pretii, negligendum omnino arbitrarentur.

	Unc.	Gran.
As noſter Sextantarius jam continet	1	348
Semiſſis	0	342
Triens	0	264
Quadrans	0	248

Sed aſſem deinde ad unciale item pondus imminutum eſſe, a Plinio ſupra traditum legimus: cujus quoque imminutionis exemplaria pariter quædam hic delineata proferuntur.

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[s] Vid. Gruter. Inſcript. p. 45. x. it. p. 134. &c.

[t] Διά τι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πολλοὶ τῶν πλȣσίων ἐδεκάτευον τὰς ȣσίας. Plut. Quæſt. Rom.

[u] Plaut. Stich. Ac. 1. Sc. 3. 80.

[w] Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7.

SECT.

SECT. V.

QUintus enim nummus, aſſem, ni fallor, uncialem præ ſe fert. Quippe nota iſta, I, quæ aſſis propria habetur, utrinque notatus, atque ex altera parte, Jani bicipitis, ex altera, navis effigie, una cum voce, ROMA, ſubſcripta, ſignatus eſt.

SECT. VI.

SExtus, aſſis ejuſdem pars dimidia, ſive Semiſſis eſt, littera, S, utrinque notatus; atque ex altera parte, capite ſenili laureato, ex altera roſtro navis inſignitus: ſupra navem vero littera, T, et vaſculi quoque cujuſdam ſpecies, artificis ſcilicet nota, vel tabernæ ejus ſignum, exſculpta cernitur[x].

SECT. VII.

SEptimus, aſſis hujus pars tertia, ſive Triens eſt, quatuor punctis utrinque notatus, atque ex altera parte, Romæ galeatæ capite, ex altera, roſtro navis ſignatus; cui vox, ROMA, etiam ſupra navem inſcripta eſt.

SECT. VIII.

OCtavus aſſis ejuſdem pars ſexta, ſive ſextans eſt: ex altera parte, Mercurii capite, ex altera, roſtro navis ſignatus[y].

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[x] Romæ enim olim, perinde ac in urbibus hodie noſtris, Opifices, ac mercium quarumlibet venditores, tabernas ſuas, pro cujuſque arbitrio, tabulis pictis ſeu imaginibus, quas ſigna vocamus, diſtinguere conſueverunt. Hinc Galli cujuſdam effigiem deformem atque immanem, in C. Marii Scuto Cimbrico pictam, et Tabernæ cuidam in Foro Romano appoſitam legimus: de quo celebris Craſſi Oratoris jocus memoriæ proditur. [Cic. de Orat. l. 2.] *Tabernæ erant circa Forum ac Scutum illud, ſigni gratia poſitum.* Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

[y] Hunc Sextantem, nummulum eundem eſſe

Atque horum item nummorum momenta inter ſeſe ſatis apte conveniunt, niſi quod As modum ei præſcriptum nonnihil excedere reperitur.

	Unc.	Gran.
As enim his uncialis continet	1	83
Semiſſis S - - - - -	0	220
Triens o o o o - - -	0	165
Sextans - - - - - -	0	87

Tertiam iſtam aſſis imminutionem quod attinet, qua ad pondus demum ſemiunciale, Papiriana lege, redactus fuit, ea quidem a C. Papirio Carbone Tribuno plebis, A. U. 563, facta putatur. Hujus autem aſſis, haud ullas omnino partes, præter Semiſſem ac Trientem percuſſas eſſe arbitror.

SECT. IX.

DE nummis autem noſtris, nonus iſte, qui nullis punctis notatus, Janique bicipitis, et navis effigie ſignatus eſt, As Semiuncialis eſſe videtur: quippe ſemunciæ fere pondus adhuc habere reperitur; grana videlicet 194.

Sed litteris eum etiam quibuſdam inſculptum cernimus, Q. TITI. quæ magiſtratus, opinor, cujus juſſu percuſſus erat, nomen indicant. Nam eædem plane litteræ, in Familiæ Titiæ nummo quodam conſimili, inſculptæ apparent; quibus apis item effigies, de noſtro ære jam detrita, adjuncta eſt; qua quidem Havercampius, nummorum iſtorum interpres doctiſſimus, ſignificari putat, Q. iſtum Titium, quem tribunum plebis

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eſſe puto, quem Varro Sextulam vocat, *ærisque ſignati partem minimam* declarat. [De Ling. Lat. l. 4. verſ. fin.] Haud mirum igitur, quod Montfauconius aſſis hujus *ſtipitem uncialem*, ſive partem duodecimam in Muſeo ſuo deſiderari ait: quia nullam omnino partem, Sextante minorem, ſignatam unquam fuiſſe, ex hoc Varronis loco intelligimus.

Vid. Montfauc. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7. §. 3.

fuiſſe ait, eloquentiæ laude floruiſſe, atque ex diſertorum eorum numero fuiſſe, quorum ſermo melle dulcius fluere dicitur[z].

At vero alias præterea aſſis antiqui imminutiones factas olim fuiſſe, a nemine licet ſcriptorum veterum memoratas, Montfauconius declarat; idque ex monumentis ipſis, Aſſiumque partibus adhuc extantibus, quæ cum trium earum imminutionum nulla omnino conciliari poſſunt, demonſtrari contendit[a]. Atque hoc profecto veriſimile admodum cenſendum eſt; iſtiuſmodi videlicet imminutiones non ita præcipites fuiſſe, ſed gradibus potius lentioribus proceſſiſſe, quam ut prima penitus vice, duodecim unciæ ad duas redigerentur: idque ſane a noſtris item nummis duobus confirmari videtur.

SECT. X.

NUmmus enim decimus, quatuor punctis notatus, Triens ſine dubio eſſe apparet; ex altera parte Romæ galeatæ, ex altera, Herculis, Centaurum clava ferientis, imagine ſignatus: eum autem aſſis olim ſemilibralis, ſeu ſex unciarum, Trientem fuiſſe, neceſſe eſt, propterea quod unciam adhuc unam, et grana item 365 pondere exæquet.

SECT. XI.

NUmmus denique undecimus, unico puncto notatus, atque ex altera parte Romæ galeatæ capite, ex altera, roſtro navis ſignatus, aſſis certe ejuſdem pars duodecima, ſive Stips uncialis eſt, quippe quæ Semunciæ fere, ſeu granorum 215 jam pondus habet.

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[z] Vid. Theſaur. Morell. in Fam. Titia. Numm. iv.

[a] Montfauc. Suppl. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 6. §. 2.

Præter has autem Aſſis antiqui partes, quas in Tabulis his expreſſas videmus; aliæ præterea quinque, atque omnes quidem ſemiſſe majores, a ſcriptoribus ſæpe memorantur; Deunx, Decunx, Dodrans, Bes, Septunx: quæ tamen omnes, non nummi totidem ſignati, ſed fictitii tantum erant, ſeu ſummæ potius nummorum diverſæ, quæ in pecunia numeranda, ex unciis aliquot vel de Aſſe demptis vel ſemiſſi additis conficiebantur. "Septunx, inquit Varro, a ſeptem et uncia concluſum: reliqua a diminutione; ut a duodecim, una dempta uncia, "Deunx; dempto Sextante, Decunx: dempto Triente, Dodrans; dempto Triente, Bes, ut olim Des[b]."

Infra ſemiſſem quoque nummus adhuc unus reſtat, Quincunx ſcilicet, cujus nulla in his Tabulis figura datur. An is autem inter nummos ſignatos revera cenſendus ſit, mihi ſane haud perſpicuum eſt. Montfauconius, ſe unicum modo ejus exemplar vidiſſe declarat, quinque punctis notatum[c]. At vero, quanquam de viri ſanctiſſimi pariter ac doctiſſimi fide, nullo modo derogare velim, tamen cum puncta iſta ita confuſe interdum atque obſcure expreſſa animadverti, ut haud facile dignoſci poſſent; cumque nemo eorum quiſpiam, qui nummos ejuſmodi ediderunt, Quincuncis omnino figuram exhibuerit[d], horum certe alterum verum eſſe oportet, Quincuncem videlicet aut nunquam ſignatum fuiſſe, aut ſi fuerit, in deſuctudinem poſtea abiiſſe; neque de nummo idcirco ſignato jam intelligendum eſſe, ſed perinde ac noſtræ monetæ quinque denarios, de nummi tantum fictitii nomine, ex uncia de ſemiſſe dempta, vel Trienti addita, confecti; neque aliter equidem Horatius de eo interpretandus videtur.

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[b] De Ling. Lat. l. 4. verſ. fin.

[c] Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7. §. 3. &c. it. Dempſt. Etrur. Regal. V. 1. p. 350.

[d] Vid. Cabin. de Sainte Genev. p. 45.

Romani pueri longis rationibus aſſem
Diſcunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
Filius Albini, ſi de Quincunce remota eſt
Uncia, quid ſuperet. Poteras dixiſſe Triens. Eu!
Rem poteris ſervare tuam. redit uncia, quid ſit?
Semis.——[e]

Jam in ærum noſtrorum pleriſque ea ipſa ſigna impreſſa cernimus, quæ Plinius Aſſi, partibuſque ejus tanquam propria attribuit; Jani videlicet bicipitis, ac navis ratiſve imagines[f]. Præter hæc autem ærum ſigna legitima ac propria, alia interdum diverſi prorſus generis animadvertere licet, quæ a magiſtratibus, quibus æris ſignandi munus commiſſum erat, pro arbitrio plerumque poſita eſſe videntur[g]. Etenim in Familiarum Romanarum nummis, aſſes hoſce, item ac ſingulas eorum partes, ſignis ſibi propriis notatos, et una cum percuſſoris nomine, ſymbolis etiam quibuſdam ad familiam ejus pertinentibus, ſignatos ſæpiſſime videmus[h]: ex quo quidem ſignorum in his nummis varietatem maxima ex parte derivatam arbitror. Quod Janus autem Geminus et Navis, ſigna ſemper æris legitima ac præcipua fuerint, ex puerorum luſu quodam, ut Macrobius ſcribit, demonſtratur: nam æs, inquit ille, *ita ſignatum*

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[e] De Art. Poet. 325.

[f] Hinc Feſtus Quadrantem, ratitum dictum eſſe ſcribit.

[g] Poſt Reges Urbe pulſos, Æris ſignandi poteſtatem penes conſules fuiſſe, haud dubium eſt; hi tamen, cum rebus gravioribus diſtenti eſſent, reliquis, opinor, magiſtratibus munus iſtud committere ſolebant. Temporis autem progreſſu, magiſtratum quendam proprium, qui huic rei præeſſet, conſtitutum invenimus; tres videlicet cives, quos Triumviros ſeu Treviros monetales appellabant. Hos Ciceronis ætate extitiſſe ex joco quodam ejus in nomen illud illudentis, apparet. [Vid. Epiſt. Fam. l. 7. 13. it. de Leg. 3. 3.] Pitiſcus, ex Faſtorum Conſularium auctoritate, eos ante bellum Punicum creatos eſſe contendit. Vid. Lexic. in Voce—

[h] Vid. Theſaurum Morell. ubi horum nummorum exempla in Familiis ſaltem antiquioribus ſatis multa exhibentur.

fuiſſe, hodie intelligitur ex aleæ luſu; cum pueri denarios in ſublime jactantes, Capita aut Naviam, luſu teſte vetuſtatis, exclamant[i].

Priſcis Reipublicæ temporibus, poſt Reges ſtatim exactos, nonniſi modicam admodum æris ſignati copiam Romæ inventam eſſe, mulctaſque propterea civium, bobus ovibuſve ſolvi ſolitas, traditur[k]. Legibus vero tunc cautum erat, ne mulcta graviſſima duos boves, et triginta oves excederet; utque bos Centuſſibus, Ovis Decuſſibus æſtimaretur. Fannius deinde Conſul, A. U. 592. legem ſumptuariam tulit, ut in feſtis ſolennioribus, Centuſſis, in aliis quibuſdam, Trecuſſis, reliquis autem diebus, Decuſſis tantum, ſeu deni Aſſes in ſingulas cenas inſumerentur[l]. His igitur ſeculis, ob æris ſignati inopiam, aſſem haud parvi pretii fuiſſe liquet: ſed poſtquam argentum aurumque deinde ſignari, atque in urbe ſenſim abundare cœperint, tum æris pretium imminui, aſſemque demum, tanquam vilem prorſus, nec ſine contemptu quidem memoratum, legimus; ita ut qui ſummam rei alicujus vilitatem ſignificare vellent, ſe aſſem daturos, negarent[m].

—— —— Cum deerit egenti
As laquei pretium[n]. ——
—— Merſa rate Naufragus aſſem
Dum rogat[o]. ——

At vero Quadrans, ſeu quarta aſſis pars, balneatoribus ſemper, tanquam propria eorum merces, vel more vel lege conſtituta erat; quam plebecula nimirum pro balneorum publicorum uſu ſolvere ſolebat. Hinc Quadrante lavari; idem fere apud auctores veteres ſignificat, ac balneo uti[p]. Quippe apud populum ſub ſole calido degentem, neque linteis omnino ullis, ſed lana prorſus veſtitum, cum balnea certe, et ad munditiem et ad valetudinem etiam neceſſaria erant, prudenter admodum proviſum eſſe videtur, ut eorum uſus omnibus promiſcue, et pretio ſane quam minimó permiſſus eſſet.

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[i] Macrob. Sat 1. c. 7. Navia, ratis erat ex unico ligno exſculpta. Feſt. Atqui hunc eundem aleæ luſum, a Romanis, ut videtur, derivatum, apud pueros item noſtros in uſu adhuc eſſe videmus; qui nummos æneos in aerem jactantes, Capita aut Feminam, exclamant, ſponſione interim facta, utrum eorum ad terram ſuperius ſit caſurum.

[k] Plutar. in Vit. Poplic. p. 103.

[l] Vid. Dionyſ. Hal. it. A. Gell. l. 2. 24. it. Macrob. Sat. 2. 13.

[m] Cic. Orat. pr. Quinctio. 5. As enim quarta fere parte minus, quam denarius noſter, pretio valuiſſe putatur.

[n] Hor. Sat. l. 2. 2. 99.

[o] Juv. 14. 301.

TABULA XX.

PRima Tabulæ hujus figura ponderis antiquorum libralis effigiem ſatis pulchram, ex ære conflatam, exhibet; quæ litteris græcis in hunc modum ſignata eſt; λ. A. Quarum quidem primæ duæ, λ, ponderis ipſius nomen, Litram, indicant; A, vero unam Litram denotat. Hujuſmodi pondera, ex ære facta et publice ſignata, in templis, ærariis, macelliſque urbis, ad communem civium uſum aſſervari ſolebant, ut ex monumentis, inſcriptionibuſque antiquis apparet[q]. Pondus hoc noſtrum, ob materiæ duritiem, ſuperficiemque glabram et æquabilem, nonniſi parvulum quiddam de gravitate priſtina amiſiſſe reperio: nam uncias adhuc undecim et paullo plus dimidia, continet; parte nimirum ejus haud viceſima quarta abſumpta: quod eruditorum eorum ſententiam plane confirmat, qui libræ veteris uncias, ut ſupra dictum eſt, eaſdem eſſe contendunt, ac noſtras iſtas, quas Averdupois hodie vocamus[r].

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[p] —— *Dum tu Quadrante lavatam*
Rex ibis——
Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 137.
Cædere Silvano porcum Quadrante lavari,
Juv. Sat. 6. 446.

[q] Vid. Fabrett. Inſcript. p. 524. &c.

[r] Vid. Hooper on Ancient Meaſures, p. 10. 15. Arbuthnot. Tab. 7. Note 1. vid. item, Operis hujus p. 194. Not. 3.

At vero omnes, qui de ponderibus his antiquis ſcripſerunt, ac momenta eorum accurate definire conati ſunt, magnam in eis ſane varietatem et diſcrepantiam ſe inveniſſe dicunt, ita ut in ſingulis non modo Italiæ, ſed urbis etiam ipſius regionibus, diverſa eorum genera in uſu fuiſſe exiſtiment, quæ ad modulum aliquem certum legitimumque à magiſtratibus haud redigi potuerunt: quorum quidem pleraque, quæ hodie manent, a menſura fere uſitata deficere, quædam tamen contra, eandem exſuperare reperiuntur[f]. Atque hæc ponderum antiquorum diſcrepantia, nummorum item æneorum, qui ad ponderum rationes ſemper accommodari ſolent, varietates eas ſupra indicatas explicare poterit.

SECT. II.

Pondera ea minora, quorum ſeriem quandam proximo loco deſcriptam videmus, nonniſi unciam veterem ejuſque partes aliquas exhibent. Ex variis autem eorum momentis perſpicere licet; uncias haſce, prout in locis diverſis reperta, aut ad uſus diverſos adhibitæ eſſent, et magnitudine plerumque et pondere a ſe invicem diſcrepaſſe. Medici Romæ degentes, unciam Atticam uſurpaſſe dicuntur, quæ Romana gravior erat, atque ex granis circiter quingentis conſtabat[t]. Quamobrem de ponderum horum minutorum figuris, primam et maximam, unciam iſtiuſmodi Atticam eſſe puto; haud viginti jam grana de pondere juſto deſiderantem.

Secunda Figura, uncia Romana eſt, de pondere tamen antiquo parvulum quiddam diminuta.

Tertia item, uncia eſt, ut notæ iſtæ argenteæ in ſuperficiem ejus inſertæ, indicant: quarum altera, ♉, unciæ propria eſſe, altera vero, A, unam, ut dixi, denotare, putatur[u]. Hæc autem uncia, vel vetuſtate attrita, vel pondere potius minori, quam par erat, ab initio conflata, jam quartam unciæ Romanæ partem, et amplius aliquanto deſiderare reperitur.

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[f] Vid. Hoop. ib. p. 173.

[t] Vid. Hoop. ibid. p. 56.

Quarta, tribus punctis diſtincta, Drachma Attica eſt, octava unciæ Atticæ pars, quæ medicis præcipue in uſu fuit, et tres ſcrupulos, tribus iſtis punctis indicatos, continebat[w].

Quinta, duobus punctis notata, duos unciæ ejuſdem ſcrupulos denotat.

Reliquæ duæ, quæ reſtant, forma plana atque orbiculari, Unciam item Romanam, et Semunciam indicant; ut ex notis, momentiſque eorum apparet. Nota enim iſta Γο, quam in aliis quoque ponderibus animadverti, Unciam, Græce ſcriptam, *ὀυΓκίαν*, denotat[x]. Quid autem notulæ iſtæ, in figura Semunciali inſculptæ, ſignificent, haud dictu facile eſt. Crucis ſane forma, eam Imperatorum Chriſtianorum temporibus confectam[y], momentumque ejus, ſemunciam eſſe, oſtendit; quæ grana tantum quatuordecim de pondere antiquo amiſit.

	Unc.	Gran.
Litra igitur noſtra, ſeu Libra jam continet -	11	222
Prima Uncia - - -	1	46
Secunda - - - - -	0	424
Tertia - - - - -	0	321
Drachma - - - -	0	55
Duo Scrupuli - - -	0	42
Uncia plana - - - -	0	407
Semuncia - - - -	0	205

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[u] Vid. Le Cabin. de S. Genev. p. 63. Tab. 18. Fig. 1, 5.

[w] *Drachma Attica (fere enim Attica obſervatione Medici utuntur) denarii argentei habet pondus.* Plin. l. 21. 34. Αραχμὴ τὸ ὄγδοον τῆς ὐγκίας. Heſych. in Δραχ.

[x] Vid. Le Cabin. ib. Fig. 11.

[y] Ibid.——

SECT. III.

Figura tertia, Aquilæ effigiem æneam, baſi quoque æneæ inſiſtentem, præ ſe fert. Hujuſmodi autem Imagunculas, ex auro, argento, aut ære interdum deaurato fictas, ſigna militum Romanorum præcipua et nobiliſſima fuiſſe, notiſſimum eſt: quæ haſtis nimirum longiuſculis impoſitæ, ſingulis legionibus, tanquam propria earum inſignia, ſingulæ tributæ erant: quem quidem alitum regem, Joſephus, Legionibus Romanis, quaſi *imperii ſymbolum*, *omenque victoriæ*, præfuiſſe ſcribit[z].

Præter Aquilas autem iſtas Legionarias, cohortes item ſingulæ, ac manipuli ſigna ſibi propria habuerunt, quæ ex rerum variarum formis, alia ſuper aliam congeſtis, atque haſtæ pariter impoſitis, conſtabant. In his, Imperatorum imagines pictæ, et in clypeis ſingulis incluſæ, principem fere locum obtinebant; quibus Aquila quoque deaurata, et clypeo incluſa, deſuper plerumque adjuncta erat; ita ut ex triplici aut quadruplici clypeorum ordine, una cum Aquila ſuperimpoſita, hæc ſigna in nummis, ſculpturiſque antiquis in altum perſæpe exſtructa reperiantur[a].

Hæ vero Aquilæ et magnitudine et pondere perexiguo fuerint, neceſſe eſt, propterea quod hi omnes clypeorum ordines, imaginumque, ut vocantur, ſuggeſtus[b], a ſignifero facile, idque vel una, ut videtur, manu, portari poſſent: ut ex ſigniferorum ipſorum figuris, in columnis antiquis inciſis, colligere licet[c]. At vero Legionarias etiam Aquilas, quæ vel ſingulæ portabantur, hac noſtra figura haud majores multo fuiſſe, ex Floro diſcimus, qui inſignem eam Variani exercitus cladem, qua tres legiones perierant, commemorans, "ſigna, inquit, et Aquilas duas adhuc barbari poſſident; tertiam ſignifer, priuſquam in hoſtium manus veniret, avulſit, merſamque intra baltei ſui latebras gerens, in cruenta palude ſic latuit[d]." Quippe perexiguam Aquilam iſtam fuiſſe, fatendum eſt, qui in baltei militaris latebris occultari commode poterat.

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[z] De Bell Jud. l. 3. c. 6. Edit. Haverc.

[a] Vid. Colum. Trajan. p. 7, 16, 29, 77, &c.

[b] Tertull. Apol. c. 16.

[c] Vid. Columm. ib. p. 77, &c.

Hæc ſigna militaria, ſacrata ſemper habita eſſe, Aquilaſque præſertim, fulminis miniſtras, divinis plane honoribus coli ſolitas, accepimus. Tacitus eas quidem, *propria legionum numina*, appellat[e]. *Religio tota caſtrenſis*, inquit Tertullianus, *ſigna veneratur*, *ſigna jurat*, *ſigna omnibus Deis præponit*[f]. Itaque hac religione commotus, *Parthorum Rex*, *Artabanus*, *Aquilas et ſigna Romana*, *Cæſarumque imagines adoraviſſe*, traditur[g]. Atque hinc in ſignis iſtis, ſacella quædam parvula et faſtigiata, Aquilis, ad divinitatem earum indicandam impoſita, atque in nummis interdum antiquis expreſſa videmus[h].

Attamen non in caſtris modo ac militiæ, ſed domi etiam Aquilas haſce in iſtiuſmodi ſacellis collocatas, et cultas eſſe legimus: de quo quidem genere, *Aquila iſta argentea* fuit, cui *Catilina ſacrarium domi conſtituiſſe*, *cultumque divinum tribuiſſe* dicitur[i]. Atque hanc igitur Aquilæ noſtræ Icunculam, quæ baſi, in arulæ plane modum conformatæ, ad vota quaſi excipienda, inſiſtit, ex Aquilis iſtis ſacratis fuiſſe conjicio, quæ vel in ſignis militaribus portari, vel domi etiam conſecrari, ac numinum inſtar in Larariis coli ſolebant.

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[d] Lib. 4. c. 12.

[e] Annal. 1. 39.

[f] Tertull. ibid.

[g] Sueton. in Calig. c. 14. 5.

[h] Vid. Patin in Numm. Conſtantini et Filior. it. Stewech. in Vegetium. c. 6.

[i] Cicer. in Catil. Orat. 1. 9. 2. 6.

SECT. IV.

Figura quarta, Gutti antiqui, ex ære confecti, effigiem oſtendit; vaſculi ſcilicet, ad olea, unguenta, ac liquida quævis pretioſa conſervanda, atque ut nomen indicat, guttatim fundenda, inventi. Uſus autem ejus in balneis præcipue vigebat: ubi lautiores quique, cum lavati jam, ſtrigilibuſque abſterſi eſſent, tum oleo, ſeu unguento aliquo nobili, ex his vaſculis guttatim effuſo, inungi ſolebant.

> ——*Domus interea ſecura patellas*
> *Jam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et ſonat unctis*
> *Striglibus, et pleno componit lintea Gutto*[k].

Præterea ad ſacros item ritus, Guttos adhibitos eſſe, a Plinio indicatur; qui *M. Curium juraſſe*, ſcribit, *ſe ex hoſtium præda nihil attigiſſe, præter Guttum faginum, quo ſacrificaret*[l]. Quippe in priſca illa urbis paupertate, nonniſi Guttis ligneis aut fictilibus, vel principes civitatis libamina ſua ad Deorum aras ferre ſolitos, conſtat.

At vero vaſculorum eorundem figuras, in monumentis aruliſque ſepulchralibus ſæpiſſime inſculptas, reperimus[m]: quod quidem Guttos item hoſce ad ſepulchrorum ſacra pertinuiſſe, atque ad unguenta pretioſa et odorifera in mortuorum cineres fundenda, adhibita fuiſſe, oſtendit.

SECT. V.

HÆC Pedis ænei figura, de donariorum eorum numero fuiſſe videtur, quæ ex voto Deorum alicui ſuſcepto, ac

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[k] Juven. S. 3. 261.

[l] Lib. 16. 38.

[m] Vid. Boiſſard. Par. 3. p. 46, 61, 65, 68, &c.

beneficio inde accepto, tanquam grati animi pignus, in Templo ejus ſuſpendi ſolebant. Hanc enim apud omnes fere gentes opinionem invaluiſſe accepimus, Deos nimirum donis maxime placandos eſſe.

Munera, crede mihi, placant homineſque Deoſque ;
Placatur donis Jupiter ipſe datis[n].

Quamobrem omnes iſtæ membrorum humanorum imagines, quæ vel fictiles vel ex metallis conflatæ, e Templorum veterum ruinis ſæpe effoſſæ atque ad hunc diem conſervatæ ſunt[o], ex hac ſuperſtitione originem duxiſſe videntur ; neque aliud omnino eſſe, ac dona iſtiuſmodi, quæ, ob membra iſta morbo aut dolore aliquo levata, Deorum alicui ex voto dicata fuiſſent.

Hujuſmodi vero donariis, etiamſi Æſculapii potiſſimum templa, ut ſupra dixi, referta fuerint, quæ *remediorum ſalutarium mercedem, ægri ſacraverant Deo* ; attamen omnibus promiſcue Deis hæc eadem quoque ſuſpenſa fuiſſe, conſtat : quorum quidem exempla bene multa adhuc extantia, et in libris paſſim deſcripta, videre licet. De his autem Pedum imaginibus, Fabrettus tria ſane paria marmorea exhibuit, quorum primum ISIDI. FRVCTIFERAE dicatum eſt ; ſecundum, Deæ cuidam, haud alias memoratæ, QVIE IANAE ; tertium, nullo omnino titulo inſignitum[p].

Bonannius item, Jeſuita ſane eruditus, tres Pedum figuras, æneam, fictilem, et marmoream edidit, aliaſque præterea ex argilla fictas, in Collegii Romani Muſeo aſſervari ait, quas omnes vel pedibus laborantium, vel navigantium potius vota fuiſſe putat, Dianæ ſeu Veneri ſuſcepta, quam nautæ præſertim, tanquam maris Dominam invocare conſueverunt. In cujus rei teſtimonium, Pedem quoque votivum, eximio opere e ſuccino fictum, adducit, cum hac inſcriptione.

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[n] Ov. de Art. Amand. 3. 653.

[o] Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 2. l. 4. c. iv. &c. it. Muſe. Kircher. Claſſ. 2. p. 61. it. Thomaſin. de Donar. &c.

[p] Vid. Fabrett. Inſcript. 471, 472— Bina pariter pedum marmoreorum paria, in uno lapide inſculpta, ab eodem exhibita videmus, cum hac inſcriptione ;

LICINIA. PHILETE.
PRO. SALVTE. SVA. ET. SVOR.
D. S. P.

D. M.
VENERI. SS. FELICI.
CONSERVATRICI. MATRIQVE. DEVM.
CVPIDINI. COELESTI. C. CAESTIANVS[q].

Hanc vero eandem, de donis tabuliſque votivis, ſuperſtitionem, Romæ etiam hodie, perinde ac in urbe veteri, vigere, alio quodam libello demonſtravi; quod quidem a Bonannio ipſo, jam confirmari video; qui de his veterum donariis diſputans, eorumque exempla varia proferens, hanc deinde clauſulam adjungit; "Talem Ethnicorum morem etiamnum ubique imitantur, ſed veræ religionis ſignificatu, Chriſti fideles; qui marinis undis jactati, Deiparæ, tanquam propitiæ maris ſtellæ, opem implorant; ac præſertim in Adriatico, ex quo cum littus tenuerint, non raro nudis pedibus, ad ſacram Ædem Lauretanam, peregrinantur ſua vota ſoluturi; ibique in Tabellis pericula expreſſa relinquunt[r]."

S E C T. VI.

DE Tigridis imagine ænea, quam ultimo loco hic expoſui, nihil equidem, quod liquet, dicere habeo. Attamen

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[q] Muſ. Kircher. p. 68, 69. Bina quoque pedum paria, in marmore quodam inſculpta, et INVICTE CELESTI VRANIAE dicata, idem Bonannius commemorat. p. 78.

[r] Ibid.

men quia opere antiquo nec invenuſto perfecta eſſe videtur, ad reliquas Tabulæ hujus figuras eam adjungere libuit, ut locum ſaltem vacuum implere poſſet. Hanc beſtiæ rabidæ figuram, ore hiante, uberibuſque pendentibus, quæ clypeum item Gorgonis ore inſignitum, conſpectui quaſi hominum objicit, quum ferocitatem terroremque præ ſe ferat, ad uſum aliquem militarem ſpectaſſe conjicerem, niſi quod in bellico Romanorum apparatu, nulla iſtiuſmodi figura, ſignumve, vel a ſcriptoribus memoratum, vel in monumentis deſcriptum reperitur. At vero haud ſcio, an ad Bacchi forſitan ſacra imagunculam noſtram reſpectum aliquem habere credamus; quem quidem Deum Tigribus præcipue domandis celebrem, nec niſi Tigribus junctis, curru vehi ſolitum cognovimus.

Jam Deus e curru quem ſummum texerat uvis,
Tigribus adjunctis aurea lora dabat [f].

Hanc vero rem aliis, quibus otium majus, aut conjectandi ſollertia felicior obtigerit, contemplandam conſiderandamque relinquo.

TABULA XXI.

Gemma hujus Tabulæ prima, Byzantis effigiem præ ſe fert, a quo urbs Byzantium condita traditur; quemque inter inclytos priſci ævi Heroas a veteribus celebratum invenimus [s]. Ætatem ejus nonnulli ad ſecula plane heroica, atque Argonautarum tempora referunt; quos ad regnum etiam ejus appuliſſe Diodorus ſcribit [t]. Alii autem veriſimilius, eum

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[f] Ovid. De Amand. l. 1. 549.

[s] Vid. Jac. Gronov. Theſ. Antiqu. Græc. Vol. 2. c 29.

Megarenſium claſſis præfectum fuiſſe dicunt, coloniamque inde ad oræ maritimæ oppidum deduxiſſe, quod antea Lygos, ſed, a conditoris nomine, Byzantium deinceps appellatum eſt; idque circa Olympiada triceſimam accidiſſe, Joſia ſcilicet Hieroſolymis et Tullo Hoſtilio Romæ regnante, declarant [u].

Sed de Byzantis origine atque ætate quicquid ſtatuendum fuerit, Byzantinos certe eum, tanquam urbis ſuæ conditorem ſemper agnoviſſe, effigiemque ejus in nummis ſuis ſignaſſe, conſtat. Caninius, inter illuſtrium imagines, Byzantis effigiem, nomenque ſimul in nummo quodam æneo ſignatum protulit; cui ex altera parte Prora navis inſculpta erat; quod eum claſſe iſtuc advectum, ac coloniæ deductorem eſſe indicare videtur [w]. Alterum etiam nummum, huic omnino ſimilem, et Byzantis pariter effigie ac nomine ſignatum, Fulv. Urſinus edit [x]: quorum quidem uterque cum gemma noſtra mirifice conſentit, eandemque prorſus imaginem exhibet; eundem oris habitum, *barbam, galeam, et criſtam quoque crinibus defluentibus* ornatum: neque alio omnino habitu, Goltzius, Gronovius, Harduinus effigiem ejus, in nummis exhibuerunt, quam tamen diademate ſemel redimitam, Vaillantius ſe vidiſſe declarat [y].

Horum igitur nummorum auctoritate, Gemmam noſtram Byzantis imaginem præ ſe ferre, colligimus. Quod Byzas autem, urbis Byzantii conditor, vel ad poſtrema Romani Imperii ſecula, habitus fuerit, a Claudiano diſcimus; qui in Eutropium conſulem invehens, quod duobus illuſtriſſimis urbis iſtius conditoribus, ille quoque ab adulatoribus, tertius adjungeretur, ita indignabundus queritur;

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[u] Τοὺς δ' Αργοναύτας κατὰ στόμα τοῦ πόντου γενομένους, προσπλεῦσαι τῇ γῇ, βασιλεύοντος τότε τῆς χώρας Βύζαντος. ἀφ' ὅυ ϗ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων ὠνομάσθαι. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 252. Edit. Hanov.

[w] Vid. Geo. Cedren. Compend. Hiſtoriar. Edit. Par. p. 112. A. it. Stephan. de Urbib. in Byzant. it. Scalig. in Euſeb. Chron. it. Plin. l. 4. xi.

[x] Vid. Canin. Iconograph. Tab. 35.

[y] Vid. Illuſtr. Imagin. Tab. 40.

quod tertius urbis
Conditor: hoc Byzas, Conſtantinuſque videbunt [z] ?

Sculpturæ denique præſtantiam quod attinet; imago ipſa opere, ut mihi videtur, antiquiſſimo, atque a Græco olim Artifice, in Achate nitido, eximie inſculpta eſt, ejuſdemque prorſus magnitudinis, ac figura ejus ectypa, quam hic delineatam damus.

SECT. II.

GEmma ſecunda, et ſculpturæ artificio, et lapidis ipſius pulchritudine inſignis, Hermaphroditi, opinor, ſupra pellem caprinam humi recumbentis effigiem nobis offert, cujus brachium dextrum ad arborem alligatum eſt. Ex altera parte Satyrus, genibus in terram flexis, Hermaphroditi veſtem avellere, corpuſque denudare videtur; et perſpecto rei miraculo, vel in cachinnum erumpere, vel præ admiratione, ad cœlum ora convertere: ex altera parte, Faunus, genibus item flexis, in prodigio eodem contemplando defixus hæret.

Hanc figurarum deſcriptionem, ad fabulam fortaſſe aliquam, iis temporibus notam, alludere credamus; qua Satyrus, Faunuſque, pronum in Venerem genus, mulierem, ſub arbore dormientem, ſe offendiſſe credentes, eam ſtatim ad arborem, libidine inflati, alligaſſe, ſed corpore demum nudato, Hermaphroditum inveniſſe finguntur. Notiſſima illa quidem Salmacis fabella eſt, de Hermaphroditorum origine ac nomine, quos Ovidius ita deſcribit.

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[z] Claud. in Eutrop. 2. v. 83.

Nec duo ſunt et forma duplex, nec fœmina dici,
Nec puer ut poſſint ; neutrumque et utrumque videntur [a].

Illud tamen nequaquam fabuloſum aut commentitium, ut Valerianus ait, habendum eſt, "utriuſque naturæ homines inveniri, qui partem inter ſe utramque peragant ; cujuſmodi ſunt populi, ſupra Naſamonas, confineſque illis Maclias, Calliphanis teſtimonio ſatis cogniti——ubi ſevera lege cautum, ut quem malint ſexum eligant, altero ſi abutantur, capitali ſupplicio puniendi [b]."

Quod Hermaphroditi autem, apud omnes fere gentes, atque omni ætate revera extiterint, a ſcriptoribus antiquis, tam Græcis quam Latinis, memoriæ proditum eſt. Diodorus eos, inter *humani generis monſtra* a nonnullis recenſeri, ſcribit ; raro in lucem editos, *et interdum mala, interdum bona portendentes. Quid ortus Androgyni, inquit Cicero, nonne fatale quoddam monſtrum fuit ?* Plinius dein, *gignuntur*, inquit, *et utriuſque ſexus, quos Hermaproditos vocamus, olim Androgynos vocatos, et in prodigiis habitos, nunc vero in deliciis* [c]. Quippe ſtatuas eorum e marmore fingere effigieſque in gemmis inſculpere ſolebant, quarum quidem duas, antiquo opere atque eximia arte fictas, vel hodie etiam extantes, alteram Romæ in Villa Borgheſia, alteram Florentiæ, in nobiliſſimo Etruriæ Ducis Muſeo vidi ; utraſque ſane inter præſtantiſſima ſculpturæ veteris monumenta merito numerandas ; Florentinam autem iſtam, e Pario marmore fictam, qui in hiſce rebus intelligunt Hermaphroditum illum nobilem eſſe credunt, quem Plinius Policlis opus eſſe declarat [d]. At non antiquorum modo teſtimoniis, ſed exemplis aſpectuque ipſo, hac noſtra ætate, Hermaphroditos eſſe cognovimus. In oppidis enim noſtris ex Africa nuper hominem vidimus, qui ſigna utriuſque ſexus propria, in ſe plane conjuncta habuit; ita tamen, ut neuter eorum perfectus, ſed eo penitus modo confuſus apparuerit, quem ab Auſonio deſcriptum legimus.

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[a] Ovid. Metam. l. 4. 378.

[b] Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 18. p. 135.

[c] Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 215. Edit. Hanov. it. Cic. De Divin. 1. 41. it. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 7. 3. vid. etiam xi. 49.

[d] Plin. ib. 34. 8. Vid. etiam Muſeum Florent. a Gorio edit. Tab. 40, 41. Her-

Concretus ſexu, ſed non perfectus utroque;
Ambiguæ veneris, neutro potiundus amori [e].

Gemma noſtra ex eo Onychum Arabicarum genere eſſe videtur, quas Plinius *nigras* eſſe dicit, *candidis zonis* [f]. Quaſque Itali hodie Nicolos et Cameos vocant. Quippe lapis ipſe niger, vena quadam candida, quaſi zona cinctus eſt, e qua imagines ipſæ exſculptæ finguntur [g].

SECT. III.

GEmma tertia, Parthorum Regis cujuſdam imaginem exhibet; eo plane habitu atque inſignibus ornatam, quibus Principes iſti, cum in gemmis, tum in nummis inſculpti cernuntur [h]. At vero aliam quoque huic noſtræ conſimilem et fere eandem, Baudelotium in lucem antea edidiſſe video: quam, perinde ac noſtram, in Achate litteris Parthicis inſcripto, et in anuli formam confecto, inſculptam, atque omnium, quas in

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maphroditorum quoque imagines in Gemmis inſculptas, in alio ejuſdem Muſei volumine videre licet. Tab. 82. item inter Gemmas a Dominico Roſſi Romano editas, Vol 3. Tab. x.

[e] Epigr. 100.

[f] Hiſt. Nat. 37. 6.

[g] In gemmis hiſce, quibus ſtrata ſeu venæ diverſis coloribus erant, hoc antiquis uſitatiſſimum eſſe cognovimus, ut ſtratum lapidis nigrum, fundi ſive radicis loco uſurparent, et in vena deinde candida figuras plerumque totidem, quot commode excipere poterat, cælando effingerent: ita ut opus ipſum, e nigro candidum exſurgens, eminentius pulchriuſque ob colorum varietatem, appareret.

[h] Montfauc. Antiqu. V. 3. l. 2. c. 14. it. Supplem. V. 3. l. 2. c. 1.

eo genere viderat, pretioſiſſimam pulcherrimamque eſſe declarat[i].

Medorum equidem Parthorumque veterum Reges, veſtium Regalium ſplendore, ornatuque pœne fœmineo, omnium maxime, gaviſos conſtat. Nam faciem, oculoſque pigmentis illinere, comaſque aſcititias, in cincinnos varios contortas, *inaures, monilia et armillas* geſtare ſolitos legimus: ita enim Xenophon, *Aſtyagem Medum, atque ita fere Plutarchus Surenam, Parthorum ducem* deſcribit; eumque ornandi morem Parthos a Medis accepiſſe dicit[k].

Quod Parthorum autem Regum imagines in gemmis ſæpe inſculptæ eſſent, atque eo prorſus habitu, quo ipſi revera ornari ſolerent, ex Plinio diſcimus: qui ad Trajanum e Bithynia ſcribens, "ſe ſervulum quendam apud ſe tenere dicit, qui a Pacoro, Parthiæ rege aufugiſſet, ſecumque gemmam attuliſſet, quæ Pacori imaginem, et quibus inſignibus ornatus fuiſſet, inſculptam habebat: gemmam autem ipſam, aut vi aut furto a Servulo ablatam, Plinus ſe requirere ait, ut eam ad Trajanum mitteret[l]." Itaque gemmam noſtram, non tam ob ſculpturæ pulchritudinem, qua ſeſe tamen facile commendare poſſet, quam ob rei ipſius raritatem, æſtimabilem eſſe, conſtat: quippe quam Romæ olim uti videmus, Proconſules ipſi poſſidere cupiiſſent, dignamque, quæ ad imperatorem muneri mitteretur, exiſtimaſſent.

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[i] *Siquis*, inquit Baudelotius, *litteras Parthicas in hac gemma inſcriptas explicare poſſet: eas lucis certe aliquid ad gentis Parthicæ hiſtoriam allaturas, neceſſe eſt.* [Utilitè des Voyages. V. 1. p. 309.] Sed litteras iſtas, tanquam deperditas plane, atque inexplicabiles ab eruditis cenſeri reperio. [Vid. Montfauc. Supplem. ibid.] Neque pauculas ſane iſtas in gemma noſtra inciſas, ſi explicabiles eſſent, aliud omnino quidpiam, ac Regis ipſius nomen, indicaturas fuiſſe arbitror.

[k] Vid. Xenoph. de Cyri Inſtitut. p. 19. Edit. Oxon. et Plutarch. in Vita Craſſi. p. 537. F.

[l] Epiſt. l. x. ep. 16. Edit. Elſev.

SECT. IV.

Gemma quarta, Pruſiæ, Bithyniæ Regis caput, opere antiquo in Carneola eximie inſculptum præbet. Principis hujus effigiem, inter Illuſtrium imagines a Fulv. Urſino collectas, in nummo quodam argenteo impreſſam cernimus; quam Jo. Faber, qui imagines iſtas commentario illuſtravit, ſe in *aliis quoque nummis, una cum Pruſiæ ipſius nomine, itemque in gemmis anularibus inſculptam* vidiſſe declarat[m].

Tres iſtiuſmodi nummos, Pruſiæ nomine inſcriptos, Begerus edidit[n]. Qui diverſis licet temporibus, atque a diverſis civitatibus percuſſi, omnes tamen ſimilitudinem quandam inter ſeſe, ac eundem oris habitum oſtendunt; noſtramque ideo gemmam nonniſi Pruſiæ imaginem exhibere confirmant.

Res ejus geſtæ ab Hiſtoricis pleriſque celebrantur. Sed non tam ob bella, victoriaſque contra alias gentes, celebris, quam propter obſequium erga Romanos ſervile atque abjectum, infamis erat. Natura ſane verſatilis, crudelis, atque infidus eſſe traditur: qui Hannibalem, jam ſenem admodum, atque ad ſe profugum, ni veneno ſeſe prius ipſe occidiſſet, Romanis traditurus eſſet[o]. Antiocho enim devicto, et Perſeo Macedone, cujus ſororem in matrimonio duxerat, captivo Romam ducto, Romanorum potentiam uſque eo extimuiſſe fertur, " ut pileatus et capite raſo obviam ire Legatis, libertumque ſe Populi " Romani dicere ſoleret; et Romæ quoque quum veniret in " curiam, ſummittere ſe, et oſculo limen curiæ contingere; " et Deos ſervatores ſuos, ſenatum appellare[p].

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[m] Vid. Fulv. Urſin. Imagin. 119. et Fabri Comment. p. 69.

[n] Theſaur. Brandeb. Vol. 1.

[o] Liv. l. 39. 30.

[p] Liv. l. 45. 44. Appian in Mithridat. prope init.

Appianus eum *facie illiberali, ac ſtatura puſilla* fuiſſe ſcribit[q]. At ſculptores iſti veteres, quorum ars, perinde ac Pictorum, ornatiora fere omnia, ac pulchriora, quam natura ipſa fert, reddere ſolet, in gemma etiam noſtra, jure ſuo uſi ſunt, venuſtumque eum potius quam deformem finxerunt. Quippe faciem ei juvenilem ac barbatulam hic tributam cernimus: qua quidem barbula, ſed pro diverſo ætatis gradu, paullulum interdum craſſiore, in nummis, opinor, omnibus inſignitus apparet.

SECT. V.

GEmmam quintam, Sexti Chæronenſis, Plutarchi Nepotis, effigiem exhibere conjicio. Philoſophi enim potius quam Imperatoris imaginem præ ſe ferre videtur; et nummum etiam antiquum, conſimili plane effigie ſignatum, Sponius in lucem edidit, cui litteris Græcis, SEXTI nomen inſcriptum eſt; quod ad Sextum omnino Chæronenſem, M. Aurelii Præceptorem, referendum eſſe contendit; idque ex nummi ipſius fabrica, barbæque etiam forma confirmari arbitratur[r].

Neque mirum ſane cenſeri poteſt, quod in Sexti hujus memoriam nummi poſt mortem ejus percuſſi eſſent; quem tanto in honore apud Imperatorem illum fuiſſe accepimus, ut *una jus dicere ſoleret*[ſ]. De hoc autem Sexto viros doctos inter ſeſe diſceptare video, an idem cum eo fuerit, qui Empiricus dictus eſt, cujuſque opera adhuc nonnulla reſtant. Sed Chæronenſem noſtrum ab Empirico prorſus diverſum, neque Pyrrhoniæ, ut Suidas cenſet, ſed Stoicæ ſectæ addictum eſſe conſtat; quod cum a Capitolino[t], tum ab Imperatore præſertim ipſo ſignificari videtur; qui ea omnia enumerans, quæ a Sexto didiciſſet, hoc quoque adjungit; "quod neque iracundiæ, neque ullius "omnino perturbationis indicium edere, ſed iſtiuſmodi affec"tibus penitus immunis, ſuorum tamen omnium amantiſſimus "eſſe deberet[u]." Quod quidem præceptum nonniſi e Stoicorum ſcholis manaſſe perſpicuum eſt.

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[q] App. ibid.

[r] Miſcel. Erud. Antiqu. Sect. 4. p. 140.

[ſ] Vid. Suid. in Sexto. a L. Vero quoque M. Aurelii in Imperio ſocio, Sextus noſter unice dilectus eſſe dicitur. Capitolin. in L. Vero. c. 2.

SECT. VI.

Gemma ſexta, Omphalis effigiem, Herculis inſignibus ornatam, oſtendit. Omphale enim, oris ſui forma, Herculem ita ſubegiſſe, ac juſſis ſuis obſequentem reddidiſſe fertur, ut clavam ejus pellemque leoninam ipſa ſibi ſumens, eum colo et calatho ac cultu muliebri inſtructum, in triumpho quaſi ducere ſoleret. In quam quidem fabellam Poetas ſæpe veteres illudentes invenimus.

Ipſa capit clavamque gravem, ſpoliumque leonis[w].
Cultibus Alciden inſtruit illa ſuis[x].

Thraſo etiam iſte Terentianus, quum Thaidi ſeſe ſummittere conſtituiſſet, ita ſe excuſat;

Qui minus huic, quam Hercules ſervivit Omphali[y]?

Sed hæc Omphalis hiſtoria pervulgata ſane atque a Poetis fere omnibus celebrata eſt[z]: itaque hoc tantum adjungere libet;

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[t] In M. Aurel. c. 3.

[u] Vid. M. Aurel. de rebus ſuis. l. 1. c. 9.

[w] Ovid. Faſt. 2. 325.

[x] Ib. 315.

[y] Eunuch. Ac. v. 8. 3.

[z] Ab Ovidio fuſe expoſita eſt, in Deianiræ Epiſt. v. 100. Ejuſque imago, his ipſis inſignibus ornata, cum in Græcorum veterum nummis, tum in gemmis etiam perſæpe inſculpta reperitur. Vid. Beger. Theſ. Brandeb. V. 1. 100. it. Theſ. Palat. 274. it. Domenich. Roſſi. Gemm. V. 2. Tab. 101. &c.

hanc ejus effigiem in Carneolo pulcherrimo, atque opere antiquo, inſculptam eſſe.

SECT. VII.

Gemma ſeptima, Matidiæ Auguſtæ caput exhibet, quæ Marcianæ, Trajani ſororis filia fuit, atque Auguſtæ cognomen Senatus conſulto obtinuit; Trajanumque deinde avunculum, una cum Plotina uxore, ad Parthicum bellum comitata eſt. Duas ea filias reliquit, Matidiam et Sabinam, Hadriano poſtea Imperatori nuptam; qui Socrui divinos honores tribuiſſe, atque *aromatica populo, anniverſario parentalium die*, donaſſe traditur[a]. Nummi in honorem ejus percuſſi in rariſſimis numerantur; omnes vero quos mihi videre contigit, eundem plane oris habitum, comarumque ornatum, ac quem in gemma noſtra cernimus, præ ſe ferunt[b]; quem quidem ætatis ejus conſuetudini congruentem eſſe, ex ſtatuis eorum temporum muliebribus apparet[c]. Quarum comæ, veluti a Poetis deſcribuntur, in altum ita exſtructæ erant, ut mulieres ipſæ a fronte quam a tergo altiores conſpicerentur.

> *Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum*
> *Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis,*
> *Poſt minor eſt: credas aliam*[d].

Matidiæ autem imagines in nummis utcunque raræ, in gemmis tamen rariores eſſe videntur: nam præter hanc unam, haud aliam uſpiam, vel in libris deſcriptam, vel in Muſeis aſſervatam me vidiſſe memini. Hoc ejus caput in lapide Praſio, ſeu Smaragdite, inſculptum eſt; quem Itali vulgo Praſma, nonnulli Smaragdi matrem appellant.

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[a] Æl. Spartian. in Adrian. c. x. et 19.

I. O. M.
CAESIA. P. F.
MAXIMA
SACERDOS
DIVAE
MATIDIAE.

[b] Vid. Vaillant. Patin. Beger. Vol. 2. 653. &c.

[c] Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. l. 1. c. 12.

[d] Juven. S. 6. 501.
——*Celſæ procul aſpice frontis honores*
Suggeſtumque comæ——Stat. Sylv. 1. 113.

SECT. VIII.

Gemma octava, Fauſtinæ ſenioris, Antonini Pii uxoris imaginem, in Carneola inſculptam præ ſe fert. De qua Capitolinus, "tertio, inquit, anno imperii ſui Fauſtinam "uxorem perdidit: quæ a Senatu conſecrata eſt, delatis Cir-"cenſibus atque Templo, et Flaminicis, et ſtatuis aureis atque "argenteis[e]." In nummis, quorum plurimi adhuc reſtant, Fauſtinæ hujus imago hoc eodem capitis ornatu ſemper fere inſtructa cernitur; capillis nimirum in orbiculos varios, ſupra verticem capitis, eleganter admodum convolutis.

SECT. IX.

Gemma nona, Mercurium, ſymbolis ſuis omnibus fere inſtructum, præfert; Virga ſcilicet, alis, marſupio, ariete, et Gallo Gallinaceo. Virgam ad uſus ſane varios ab eo adhibitam legimus: hac enim ſomnos vel inferre vel adimere, animaſque vel ad Inferos deducere vel evocare ſolebat.

> *Tum Virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco*
> *Pallentes; alias ſub triſtia tartara mittit;*
> *Dat ſomnos adimitque, et lumina morte reſignat*[f].

Hanc ipſam Virgulæ formam, ſerpentum mutuis amplexibus ornatam, germanum Antiquorum caduceum fuiſſe legimus; quo Legati nimirum, ad pacem inter hoſtes conciliandam miſſi, inſtructi ſemper incedebant[g]. *Hic complexus anguium*, inquit Plinius, *et efferatorum concordia*, *cauſa videtur eſſe*, *quare exteræ gentes caduceum in pacis argumentis*, *circumdata effigie anguium fecerint*[h]. Hæc igitur Virga, veluti proprium caduceatoris ſymbolum, Mercurio Deorum nuntio, attributa eſt: quem Ovidius caduciferum; Arnobius; *affabilium Colubrarum geſtatorem*, appellat[i].

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[e] Cap. 6.

[f] Virg. Æn. 4. 242.
Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turbam——Hor. Od. l. 1. x.

Hinc ſe ſuſtulerat paribus Caducifer alis[k].

Alæ autem illi datæ eſſe putantur, non quia *Jovis nuntius aut caduceator*, ſed quia *lingua celeri ac prompta*, *vociſque potens* erat[l]: utque nihil *ſermone velocius* eſſe, indicaretur. *Pennas*, inquit Iſidorus, *habere fingitur*, *quia citius verba diſcurrunt*, *alaſque ei in capite et pedibus ſignificare*, *volucrem ferri per aera ſermonem*[m]. Hinc verba etiam ipſa ab Homero, *alata* appellantur[n].

Marſupium deinde ei, tanquam negotiantium Deo, lucrique conficiendi auctori, tributum eſt; ita enim apud Plautum ipſe munera ſua deſcribit.

Nam vos quidem id ſcitis conceſſum et datum
Mihi eſſe ab aliis Diis, nuntiis præſim et lucro[o].

Atque in eundem ſenſum Inſcriptiones quaſdam antiquas, MERCVRIO NEGOTIATORI ac NVNDINATORI, dicatas invenimus[p].

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[g] Ὃ φορεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιȣ́των τȣ̀ς λόγȣς ποιȣ́μενοι, ϗ̀ διὰ τȣ́τȣ τυγχάνοντες παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσφαλείας. Diod. Sic. l. v. 341. Edit. Han.

[h] Hiſt. N. l. 29. 3.

[i] Con. Gent. l. 4.

[k] Ovid. Met. 2. 708.

[l] Scimus autem Mercurium vocis et ſermonis potentem. Macrob. Sat. 1. 12.

[m] Iſidor. Orig. l. 8. xi.

[n] Ἔπεα πτερόεντα. Odyſſ. 1. 122.

[o] Amphit. Prol.

[p] Gruter. p. 55. Reineſ. Claſſ. 1. 80. Φασὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ϗ̀ μέτρα ϗ̀ σταθμὰ ϗ̀ τὰ ἐκ τῆς εὐπορίας κέρδη πρῶτον ἐπινοῆσαι. —— Diod. Sic. ibid.

Aries quoque in Gemmis hiſce ei ſæpe adjunctus eſt; quo pecudis iſtius curam quandam præcipuam eum gerere ſignificatur; hinc Heſiodus eum, *pecus omne in ſtabulis, animo volenti augere*, declarat; *boum armenta, caprarum, oviumque lanigerarum greges* [q]. Pauſanias item ſtatuam ejus æneam, in via qua ad Lechæum Corintho ibatur, poſitam eſſe dicit, cui *aries appoſitus erat, quod greges ille omnium maxime tueri atque augere exiſtimabatur* [r].

Gallum denique Gallinaceum, veluti excubiarum et vigilantiæ ſymbolum, ei quoque ſacrum eſſe cognovimus [ſ]; ut avis ſcilicet hujus admonitu, negotiatores præcipue omnes intelligerent, ſe non ſine induſtria ac vigilantia Mercurium ſibi propitium reddere, lucrumque acquirere poſſe. Lapis ipſe Amethyſtus eſt; quem quidem nonnulli, ingenium induſtriamque hominibus addere crediderunt [t]. Atque ob eam fortaſſe cauſam a priſcorum iſtorum ſuperſtitione haud alienam, Mercurium noſtrum in hac potiſſimum gemma inſculptum eſſe conjicere licet.

SECT. X.

GEmma decima, miram quandam figurarum quaſi confuſionem exhibet; hominis videlicet faciem, ſeu perſonam Scenicam, Pavonem, Sceptrum, Elephantem: quid autem Elephas proboſcide ſublatum teneat, haud mihi ſane perſpicuum eſt. Huic autem Gemmæ, alias quaſdam conſimiles prorſus, et in eruditorum Muſeis aſſervatas, et in libris ſæpe deſcriptas animadverti: quæ quidem omnes ſymbolicum, ut aiunt, ſeu ænigmaticum quiddam continere, judicantur. Faciem certe illam, viri docti Socratis effigiem eſſe declarant: eamque cum figuris iſtiuſmodi conjunctam, nonnulli in Amuletorum eorum numero reponunt, quæ vim quandam magicam habuiſſe credebantur[u]. Alii vero, quod probabile magis videtur, Gemmas hujus generis omnes ad Socratis memoriam celebrandam, inventas eſſe, atque in ejuſdem honorem, in anulis geſtari ſolitas, exiſtimant[w].

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[q] Εσθλη δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ερμῆ ληΐδ' ἀέξειν
Βουκολίας τ' ἀγέλας τ' καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν,
Ποίμνας τ' εἰροπόκων οἴων, θυμῷ γε θέλουσα.
Theog. 444.

[r] Ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιστα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἐφορᾶν καὶ αὔξειν ποίμνας, &c. l. 2. c. 3.

[ſ] Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 8.

[t] Vid. Gemmar. Hiſt. edit. ab Adrian. Toll. l. 2. c. 34.

Etenim caput iſtud *calvum fronte turgida, naſo ſimo, aſpectuque taurino*, Socratis proculdubio imaginem præ ſe fert; quem Silenis Satyriſque perſimilem accepimus[x]. Quippe de hae Socratis perſona, Alcibiades, in Sympoſio Platonis, ſermonem ſatis longum habere fingitur, in quo, cum permulta in vultum ejus Silenicum jocatus eſſet, ita demum progreditur; "at vero neſcio, Convivæ, an aliquis unquam veſtrum imagines eas "perſpexerit, quæ in animo ejus, ſeria tractantis et ſeſe penitus aperientis, lateant: ego profecto eas aliquando perſpexi, "quæ mihi quidem ita divinæ atque aureæ, et pulchræ mirabileſque viſæ ſunt, ut quicquid jubeat Socrates, id illico faciendum ſtatuerim[y]." Quocirca haud ſcio, an lapidis hujus figuræ ad eum ipſum ſermonem reſpectum aliquem habeant; quodque Alcibiades ibi verbis, hoc idem, Gemma noſtra figuris indicare reperiatur.

Etenim vultus iſte, ut dixi, Silenicus, os Socratis exhibet; reliquæ vero figuræ, *imagines eas divinas pulchraſque*, quæ in animo ejus latuiſſe dicuntur. Pavo nempe, avium pulcherrima, virtutis ejus pulchritudinem denotat; Sceptrum ejuſdem majeſtatem, dignam quæ omnibus imperet; Elephas, eam animi firmitatem roburque, quo cunctis mortalibus præſtitit. Atqui hac pariter ratione, Gemma hæc Philoſophica, non ad Socratem modo celebrandum, ex quo omnes Philoſophorum ſectas manaſſe conſtat, ſed ad Stoicorum doctrinam illuſtrandam præcipue ſpectare judicetur; qui ſapientem ſcilicet, omnibus virtutibus artibuſque inſtructum, ſolumque formoſum, fortem, ac Regem etiam eſſe, prædicabant.

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[u] Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Roſſi. Vol. 2. Gemm. 20, 21.

[w] Vid. Jo. Chifflet. de Gemmis Socratis imagine cælatis. p. 18.

[x] Platon. Oper. Vol. 3. p. 216, 221. Edit. Par.

[y] Ibid. p. 216.

Si dives, qui ſapiens eſt,
Et ſutor bonus, et ſolus formoſus, et eſt Rex.
Sapiens operis ſic optimus omnis
Eſt Opifex: ſic Rex ſolus[z].

Vultus enim Socratis, ſapientem indicat: quem pavo formoſum; elephas, fortem, ſceptrum, Regem eſſe declarat.

SECT. XI.

GEmma item undecima, prorſus ſymbolica eſt; in qua primum globulum; deinde ex eo quaſi exſurgens, Cornu-copiæ; tum Gallum, in fruges a cornu oblatas invadere paratum, videmus. Hæc eadem Galli imago in aliis etiam gemmis ſæpe inſculpta reperitur; gubernaculo interdum, aut cornu-copiæ inſiſtens; aut Mercurio, ut modo oſtenſum eſt, tanquam ſymbolum adjuncta. At vero ſoli quoque perinde ac Mercurio, Gallus ſacer erat, *quia ſolis nempe ortum cantu nuntiat*[a].

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[z] Hor. Sat. l. 1. 3. v. 124, 132.

[a] Ἡλίου δὲ ἱερόν φασιν τὸν ὄρνιθα, καὶ ἀγγέλλειν ἀνιέναι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. l. 5. c. 25.

Quinetiam Gallum, noctem explaudentibus alis,
Auroram clara conſuetum voce vocare[b].

Hunc enim Veteres naturæ ſolaris, omnium animalium maxime, participem eſſe crediderunt; *excitandis in opera mortalibus, ſomnoque rumpendo genitum*; *qui nec ſolis ortum*, uti Plinius ait, *incautis patitur obrepere*[c]. Hinc effigiem ejus, tanquam excubiarum ſymbolum, Mercurio ſupra adjunctam vidimus, ut Mercatores, in lucro conficiendo, vigiles atque alacres eſſe admonerentur: cui conſentaneum ſane illud eſt, quod ab hac etiam gemma indicari videtur; ſcilicet e *terra, quam globulus iſte denotat, nonniſi hominum induſtria ac vigilantia, abundantiam, frugumque copiam procreari poſſe.*

SECT. XII.

DUodecima, Caput nobis ſane incognitum, in lapide opaco, ſalignei coloris, inſculptum, offert: figura autem ipſa, ex capitis ornatu, et ſculpturæ genere, Ægyptiæ cujuſdam mulieris, ſeu Deæ potius, effigiem eſſe conjicerem: Etenim ſimulachra Iſidis nonnulla, opere Ægyptiaco, et eodem plane ornatu, a Kirchero exhibita cernimus[d].

SECT. XIII.

DEcima tertia, opere etiam antiquo atque Ægyptiaco eſſe apparet: at quale nobis alitis genus exhibeat, haud ita certum eſt. Eandem plane avis formam, in Obeliſco Pamphilio, ſæpius deſcriptam animadverti; quam Kircherus, Hieroglyphicorum iſtorum interpres diligentiſſimus, Ibim cirratam appellat[e]. Noſtra autem avis ex anſerum potius, anatumve genere eſſe videtur: ſculptorque profecto, ſi Ibim in animo fingendam habuerit, nonniſi imperite aut negligenter eam finxiſſe cenſendus eſt.—Avis autem ipſa, floreſque itidem hinc inde enaſcentes, item ac in alio lapide ſupra vidimus, e vena, ſeu zona candida, cui Achates nitidus ſubſtratus eſt, exſculpuntur. At vero in gemmis ejuſmodi omnibus, ſculptoris ingenium coarctari, nec quid ipſe velit, ſed quid venæ iſtius natura admittat, fingere omnino, neceſſe eſt: ita ut opus ipſum, venuſtum licet ac ſpecioſum, raro tamen exquiſitum, atque omni parte, abſolutum reperiamus.

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[b] Lucret. l. 4. 714.
[c] Hiſt. N. x. 21.
[d] Vid. Kirch. Oedip. Ægypt. Tom. 3. 498, 500.

SECT. XIV.

GEmma decima quarta, Lapis Chalcedonius eſt, cærulei coloris, rotundus, globulique ad inſtar dimidiati convexus, cui litteris majuſculis ac quadratis inſcribitur, TRIVMPHVS QVADORVM; quem, Romæ olim repertum, una cum reliqua mea rerum veterum ſupellectile, inde deportandum curavi: in pomparum ſane Triumphalium deſcriptionibus, phalerarum interdum *frenorumque equinorum, auri bullis, gemmiſque nitentium*, ſplendor luxuſque a ſcriptoribus celebrantur;

> *Dumque auro phaleræ, gemmis dum frena renident*[f].

Atque hinc lapidem noſtrum ad frenorum Triumphalium ornatum pertinuiſſe conjicio: nam ad triumphi uſum aliquem adhibitum eum fuiſſe, inſcriptio declarat; atque ad frenorum præcipue decus, res ipſa oſtendere videtur. Quippe in foramen, quod, per centrum lapidis ductum, vacuum jam apertumque reſtat, claviculum olim quendam, capite forſitan aurato, inſertum fuiſſe, arbitror, qui lapidem ipſum cum frenis connecteret [g].

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[e] Obeliſc. Pamphil. p. 489, 495.

[f] Claudian. Epig. 20. de zona equi Regii.

M. Aurelium, de Marcomannis, Sarmatis, Vandalis, Quadiſque etiam triumphaſſe legimus [h]: At vero in numiſmate quodam antiquo, maximi moduli, Numerianum, Quadrigis Triumphalibus vectum cernimus, cum hac eadem epigraphe, TRIVMPHVS QVADORVM [i]. In cujus triumphi memoriam, numiſma iſtud percuſſum fuit: atque in ejuſdem etiam ornatum, lapidem olim noſtrum comparatum eſſe probabile eſt: quod litterarum item ipſarum forma, a perfecta ſcribendi ratione nonnihil immutata, atque iſtorum temporum conſuetudini accommodata confirmare videtur.

TABULA XXII.

HÆC Mumia Ægyptiaca, de qua jam dicturus ſum, ab homine nobili, Georgio Townſhend, navis bellicæ in claſſe Regia præfecto, in Angliam haud dudum deportata, atque Academiæ Cantabrigienſi donata eſt. Qui nativa quadam in hanc Academiam benevolentia commotus, nihil habuit antiquius, quam ut hoc inſigne κειμηλιον, ac vetuſtatis fere ultimæ monumentum, tanquam perpetui hoſpitii pignus, in ea muſarum ſede collocaret, quam pater ejus, vir ſummus, beneficiis ornaverat; quamque fratres, fratrumque filii, moribus, ſtudiis, exempliſque jam præſentes ornant.

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[g] Sed ad alium quoque uſum hic lapis adhiberi potuiſſe videtur; ſcilicet, ut ſtatuæ fortaſſe alicujus in triumpho portatæ paludamentum aut lacernam fibulæ vice humero annecteret: quod quidem gemma aliqua aut lapide pretioſo fieri ſolitum eſſe, ex ſtatuarum militarium ornatu conjectare licet.

[h] Jul. Capitolin. c. 17.

[i] Vid. Numiſm. Max. Mod. 246.

In hac autem Mumia deſcribenda, mihi quidem, neque de antiquo iſto cadavera condiendi ritu, neque de hodierno eorundem ſtatu, neque de cryptis eis ſubterraneis et mirabilibus, in quibus olim repoſita, atque hodie reperta ſunt, diſſerere propoſitum eſt: etenim iſta omnia a rerum Ægyptiarum interpretibus, atque a peregrinantibus præſertim accurate deſcripta, et in multis libris expoſita habemus; ad quos lectorem omnino referendum cenſeo[k]. Quamobrem nihil mihi aliud jam relictum videtur, quam Mumiæ noſtræ effigiem, atque ornatum hominibus curioſis in conſpectum dare, et quicquid in ea ſingulare, præcipuumque fuerit, illud quam breviter exponere atque illuſtrare.

Hæc igitur Tabula, Mumiæ thecam ſeu loculum, figuris quibuſdam ſymbolicis atque Hieroglyphicis pictum exhibet: in quo cadaver ſcilicet, Ægyptiorum more, bitumine, balſamis, atque aromatibus conditum, repoſitum erat. Loculus vero ipſe nihil fere, a ceteris ejuſdem generis diverſum, nobis offert. Ex duabus ligni Sycaminei partibus conſtat; utriſque in eum modum artificioſe excavatis, ut inter ſeſe deinde conjunctæ, cadaveris ipſius formam ac magnitudinem juſtam capere, et ab omni æris acceſſu ac damno conſervare poſſent. Atque hoc loculorum genus, ob conficiendi pingendique artificium, omnium ſane pretioſiſſimum, nec niſi nobilioribus ditioribuſve dicatum traditur.

Hujuſmodi vero loculi, non ad corporis modo figuram excipiendam intus accommodati, ſed extra quoque ad defuncti ipſius effigiem ac ſimilitudinem ita conformati erant, ut facies ex ligno effictа, et coloribus item picta, germanam ejus imaginem præ ſe ferret. Quos quidem loculos, ita ornatos atque inſtructos, Ægyptii non modo in ſepulchris magnifice exſtructis, ſed domi etiam in conclavibus ad eum uſum conſecratis, ordine quemque ſuo erectos, ad parietem collocare conſueverunt[l]. In quo munere fungendo, duplicem illi ſane finem ſpectaſſe videntur; primum, ut debitos mortuis honores cultumque præſtarent; deinde ut ambitioni et familiæ ſplendori conſulerent; ac vetuſtas haſce majorum ſuorum imagines, ſeriemque longam ac nobilem poſteris traderent[m].

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[k] Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 387. Syntagm. XIII. De Mumiis.— it. Itinera Petri de Valle, Thevenot, Le Brun, Shaw, Pocock, Perry——

In his defunctorum imaginibus, ſeu Mumiarum loculis quiddam oblongum atque acuminatum, barbæ quaſi loco, a mento plerumque pendere videmus: quod tamen a nullo, quantum memini, Mumiarum harum interprete, vel explicatum, vel omnino memoratum animadverti. Quicquid autem fuerit, non ad barbam certe exprimendam adhibitum eſſe, liquet; quia figuris promiſcue omnibus, cum fœminarum et virorum, tum Deorum etiam, hoc idem affixum reperitur: quod quidem non niſi ſymboli vice appoſitum eſſe, ſenſumque aliquem reconditum habuiſſe, perſpicuum eſt. Bonannius, auctor ſane eruditus, qui Ægyptiorum Idolorum figuras quaſdam, hoc eodem ſymbolo inſtructas, expoſuit, illud Perſeæ folium eſſe dicit[n]; arboris, Ægypto propriæ, ac Iſidi præcipue conſecratæ; atque ad omnes ideo ſolennitates pompaſque ſacras adhibitæ: cujuſque effigiem in obeliſcis, menſa Iſiaca, reliquiſque Ægyptiorum monumentis ſæpiſſime inciſam, obſervare licet[o]. *De ſtirpibus Ægyptiis*, inquit Plutarchus, *Perſeam omnium*

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[l] Ὁι προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ ἐσεργνῦσι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ καταχλῄσαντες οὕτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς. Herod. l. 2. c. 66. Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos et eos ſervant domi. Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 45.

[m] Διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐν οἰκήμασι πολυτελέσι φυλάττοντες τὰ σώματα τῶν προγόνων κατ᾽ ὄψιν ὁρῶσι τοὺς γενεαῖς πολλαῖς τῆς ἑαυτῶν γενέσεως προτετελευτηκότας. &c. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 82.

[n] Muſeum. Kircher. p. 34.

[o] Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 129, 130. it. Obel. Pamphil. p. 360, &c.

maxime Iſidi ſacram eſſe aiunt, propterea quod fructus ejus cordis, et folium linguæ ſpeciem præ ſe ferat[p]. Si hæc igitur rei interpretatio admittenda eſt, haud alio conſilio Ægyptii, folii hujus figuram Mumiis hiſce affixiſſe, videntur, quam ut Iſidem facilius conciliarent, atque ad cadaverum horum tutelam allicerent.

Ex hac loculorum ornandorum inventione, et ſculpturæ et picturæ origo deducta, atque in alias gentes derivata eſſe videtur: apud Græcos enim, quos artium ſuarum primordia ab Ægypto duxiſſe conſtat, ſtatuæ iſtæ Hermææ, omnium proculdubio antiquiſſimæ, quarum nonnullæ etiam hodie extant, ad loculorum horum formam modulumque plane effictæ eſſe apparent: Quippe nihil aliud erant, ac Deorum hominumve capita, trunco ligneo aut lapideo oblongo, atque a ſummo ad imum leniter decreſcenti, impoſita. At vero Græcorum ingenium acre intra has ſculpturæ anguſtias haud diu coarctari potuit; ſed naturam ducem ſequens, reliqua quævis corporis membra, e marmore pariter fingere, atque ad vitæ ipſius ſimilitudinem, omneſque ejus actiones et geſtus ſummo artificio accommodare cœpit. Ægyptii contra, rei licet hujus inventores, at priſcam tamen eam artis ſimplicitatem, vix unquam penitus deſeruiſſe videntur: nam etiamſi corporis humani formam, membris ſuis omnibus inſtructam, perinde ac Græci, e ligno aut lapide accurate ſatis exprimere didiciſſent, at geſtum ei liberum aliquem aut naturalem haudquaquam tribuere potuerunt; ſed Mumiarum ſuarum exemplaria in animis uſque tenentes, ſtatuis ſuis brachia, lateribus fere adhærentia, pedeſque prorſus conjunctos, et quaſi faſciis colligatos, affingere ſolebant.

Mumiæ hujus figura eadem prorſus eſt, ac reliquarum omnium, quas in libris paſſim deſcriptas videmus. Siquidem aſphalto, balſamis, aromatibuſve condita, et multiplici linteorum, faſciarumque ordine, alio ſuper alium, a capite uſque ad pedes involuta erat; atque hæc deinde involucra, alio rurſus velamine, ſive tunica linea, puchre depicta, et Deorum, beſtiarum, ſymbolorumque formis variis ornata, penitus obtegebantur. Dentes ejus omnes in maxilla ſuperiore firmiter adhuc inherentes reperiuntur: quod vero ſingulare et prodigii fere loco habendum, anteriores ſeu inciſores, non acuti illi quidem atque ad incidendum apti, ſed perinde ac maxillares, lati plane atque obtuſi ſunt. At vero ex hoc omni apparatu, ac condiendi diligentia, nihil fere intra loculum jam integrum reſtat, præter calvariam et oſſa, atque integumenti ſuperioris particulas quaſdam, imaginibus pictis inſignitas, quas in proxima Tabula deſcriptas damus. Reliquæ quævis corporis partes, una cum balſamis, faſciis, involucris, vetuſtate jam abſumptæ, atque in pulverem ac putredinem redactæ ſunt. Egregium ſane vanitatis Ægyptiæ monumentum! quæ cum Deo ipſo pugnare, artiſquè inventa naturæ legibus opponere; ac corpus humanum e pulvere excitatum, atque in pulverem reverſurum, ab interitu conſervare præ ſe ferebat.

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[p] De Iſid. et Oſirid. p. 378. c.

Amicus meus, ſupra laudatus, Guilielmus Heberden, M. D. hanc cadaverum Ægyptiorum conditurам, haud tanto quidem artificio, neque tanto aromatum apparatu, quanto curata eſſe traditur, revera effectam fuiſſe putat. Etenim ſi vel aromata, priſcis iſtis temporibus cognita, vel cadavera ipſa, Mumiaſve, ut dicuntur, conſiderabimus, ſimpliciorem quandam operis peragendi rationem, nec niſi pauca admodum medicamenta adhibita eſſe intelligemus.

Maxima unguentorum veterum pars nihil aliud erant, ac olea, in quibus herbæ ſeu flores odoriferi infuſi eſſent: quæ, ad cadavera Ægyptiorum more condienda, haud multum valere potuerunt. Aromata vero, pretioſa ſaltem iſta, atque ad hunc uſum accommodata, in India ſolummodo ultima naſcuntur, nec in Ægyptum facile deportari poſſent: quorum pleraque etiam veteribus iſtis incognita eſſe apparent, propterea quod nec a Medicis nec Phyſicis antiquis memorata ſint. Diodorus tamen Cinnamomum in hoc condiendi munere uſurpatum eſſe ſcribit[q]: at Cinnamomum, Cleopatræ ætate, inter pretioſiſſima gazæ regiæ *κειμηλια* recenſitum, atque una cum auro, ſmaragdis, et margaritis, a Regina iſta jam moritura, in monumento ſuo repoſitum legimus[r]: quod uſum certe ejus rariſſimum, nec Pollinctoribus iſtis familiarem fuiſſe, oſtendit.

Myrrha tamen, quæ in Æthiopia, atque Opobalſamum, quod in Arabia naſcitur[ſ], in hoc fortaſſe ritu uſurpari poſſent. Sed Opobalſamum, ob raritatem pretiumque ejus, haud magna copia, aut vulgo adhibitum eſſe, probabile eſt. At vero ex Mumiis omnibus, quæ jam extant, quæque a peregrinantibus deſcriptæ ſunt, perſpicuum fere videtur, nullum omnino medicamenti genus, præter Aſphaltum, ſeu bitumen merum, quod in multis lacubus fluitans reperitur, vel reſinam quandam e cedro ſtillantem, in hac conditura locum habuiſſe.

Joannes Nardius, medicus in primis celebris, quum multas hujuſmodi Mumias, e faſciis ſuis evolutas, examinaſſet, ac ſumma diligentia diſſecuiſſet, ſe nihil prorſus, præter Gummi ſeu Aſphalti glebulas quaſdam concretas inveniſſe dicit[t]. Neque aliud item quidquam Pocockius noſter, peregrinator curioſus atque eruditus, in Mumiis iſtis, quas perſcrutatus eſt, ſe animadvertiſſe declarat[u]. Mumiam denique noſtram, pretioſiſſima licet condiendi ratione curatam, nullum tamen aromatum, odorumve genus, præter bitumen merum redolere aut exhibere invenimus.

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[q] L. 1. p. 82. Edit. Hanov.

[r] Plutarch. in Vit. M. Anton. p. 950. Edit. Pariſ.

[ſ] Vid. Proſp. Alpin. de Balſamo.

[t] Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 397.

[u] Vid. Pocock Travels l. 5. c. 5.

Quod vero de Cadaveribus hiſce Diodorus ſcribit, nimirum tanto ea artificio ſemper condita fuiſſe, ut *priſtinam hominis cujuſque effigiem ſpeciemque ſingula retinerent, et vel palpebrarum ac ſuperciliorum pili integri manerent*[w]; nequaquam verum eſſe poteſt, ſed de loculo potius cadaveris quam de cadavere ipſo intelligendum; quippe cadaver multiplici faſciarum integumento, a capite uſque ad pedes ita penitus involutum erat, ut nulla ejus pars omnino conſpici poſſet.

Herodotus contra, hanc rem ita plane, ut geſta erat, exponere videtur. "Cerebro enim viſceribuſque detractis, cadaver per "dies ſeptuaginta nitro penitus merſum jacuiſſe dicit; carnem"que ita omnem a nitro iſto maceratam abſumptamque eſſe, "ut nihil præter cutem atque oſſa relinqueretur[x]." Quippe nitri ejus Ægyptiaci naturam, eandem eſſe cognovimus ac ſalis ejus, quod ex herbarum peruſtarum cineribus effici ſolet, cujus ea quidem vis eſt, ut carnem facile quamlibet abſumere queat. Atque hoc profecto ex Mumiis, quæ jam reſtant, omnibus, verum eſſe confirmatur; quæ nihil aliud eſſe videntur, ac germani hominum ſceleti, piceo quodam liquore aut bitumine illiti, faſciiſque pice item illitis involuti[y].

Atque hinc perſpicere licet, quam vana ac futilis, de virtutibus Mumiarum medicis, opinio iſta fuerit, qua tanquam omni aromatum genere onuſtæ, ac medicinarum omnium valentiſſimæ per gentes venditabantur. Qua quidem fama inductus

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[w] Vid. Diodor. ibid.

[x] L. 2. c. 86. Ed. Lond.

[y] Vir eruditus atque ingenioſus, Tho. Shaw D. D. *nihil fere carnis, partiumve muſcularium* in Mumiis hiſce reperiri dicit. See Travels into Ægypt. p. 424.

Gallorum Rex, Franciſcus primus, nullum unquam iter, abſque Mumiæ fruſtulis quibuſdam, ſuſcepiſſe fertur [z].

Quinetiam Herodotus, cadaverum horum cerebrum per nares extrahi ſolitum, ſcribit [a]. Sed haud tantam a Pollinctoribus iſtis diligentiam, corporiſque lacerandi religionem adhibitam eſſe, credibile eſt. Nam Mumiæ noſtræ caput abſciſſum fuiſſe apparet; cujus ea pars, quæ cum collo ac vertebris conjuncta fuiſſet, gypſo jam penitus oblita reperitur: quumque cerebri adeo per occipitis foramen extrahendi, via longe commodior data eſſet, hanc eos potiſſimum ſecutos eſſe, veriſimile videtur. Calvaria item, quæ medicamentis repleri ſolita traditur, in hoc tamen cadavere vacua prorſus relicta eſt.

Pocockius, faſcias Mumiarum lineas, *putridas ſemper atque aduſtas* reperiri ait, idque *calidæ ſeu uſtivæ aromatum naturæ* adſcribit [b]; quæ tamen nullam iſtiuſmodi vim habere certiſſimum eſt. Hæc igitur faſciarum aduſtio ac putredo vel vetuſtati tribuenda, vel inde potius proveniſſe putanda eſt, quod in bitumen fortaſſe liquidum ac fervens immerſæ fuiſſent. Herodotus enim, faſcias haſce gummi illitas eſſe, narrat [c]. Attamen nonnullæ faſciarum noſtrarum particulæ, quæ intus, ut videtur, a bituminis iſtius vi ac calore remotæ latuiſſent, colorem adhuc priſtinum et nativum fere retinent.

Ob has potiſſimum rationes, Vir ille ingenioſus, quem honoris cauſa modo nominavi, Pollinctores Ægyptios, vafrum hominum genus, quo artem ſuam extollerent, de ſumptu ejus atque apparatu magnificentiora longe, quam res ipſa ferebat, prædicare ſolitos, exiſtimat.

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[z] Hoffman. de Medicam. Officin.

[a] Herodot. ibid.

[b] Herodot. ibid.

[c] Vid. Pocock's Travels ibid.

TABULA XXIII.

IN hac Tabula, integumenti Mumiæ exterioris particulam, variis figuris ornatam, cernimus; quæ de pectore cadaveris ad genua pertinuerat; quæque a pulvere ac ſordibus purgata, coloribus adhuc vividis et quaſi recentibus niteſcit. In ſumma picturæ parte, cadaveris ſecandi et condiendi ratio a pictore quodammodo adumbrata eſt: in qua tamen Anubis, Ægpptiorum Deus, capite canino, medici partes agere, et ſecandi munus obire videtur. A ſiniſtro cadaveris latere, ut Diodorus ſcribit, *loco prius a ſcriba juxta ilia deſignato*, carnem *lapide acuto Æthiopico ſecare*, vel lege vel more conſtitutum erat[d]: atque in hac poſitura Anubis, manu jam ad ſecandum ſublata, depictus eſt.

Sed et menſa quoque, cui cadaver impoſitum eſt, itemque vaſcula iſta infra menſam poſita, in Deorum item formas, Canopi et Cercopitheci, efficta eſſe apparent: quibus figura etiam muliebris, hinc et inde adjuncta, Iſim fortaſſe ipſam, quaſi operis totius præſidem, denotat. Qua quidem figurarum deſignatione, hanc cadavera condiendi ac conſervandi artem, divinam plane eſſe, nec niſi Deorum inventioni attribuendam, indicari conjicio.

Quod autem memorabile magis videtur; inſtrumentum iſtud, quod Anubis, jam corpus diſſecturus, manu tenet, germanam lapidis ejus Æthiopici effigiem exhibet, quem, cultelli ſemper vice, ad hoc munus adhibitum eſſe legimus; cujus ſane formam a nullo, quod ſciam, auctore veteri deſcriptam habemus.

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[d] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 82.

Hieroglyphicas figuras quod attinet, cum omnis earum intelligentia jam diu deperdita ac deplorata plane videatur, ignorantiam potius meam confiteri libet, quam aliorum conjecturas, ingenioſas licet, at vanas certe coactaſque adoptare. Illud ſolummodo veriſimile eſſe puto, quod a Kirchero, in rebus Ægyptiacis inveſtigandis, omnium diligentiſſimo, traditum eſt. Figuras videlicet iſtiuſmodi omnes, quales, ex utraque tabellæ hujus parte, in variis ordinibus ſive zonis collocatæ, ac ſibi mutuo obverſæ ſtant, Deorum illorum imagines eſſe, qui Averrunci præcipue, ſeu malorum propulſatores habebantur [e]; quorumque tutelæ Ægyptii mortuos ſuos potiſſimum commendare conſueverunt: quoſque flagellis propterea, laqueiſve inſtructos videmus, ut malos Dæmones, in defunctorum corpora inſultare conantes, vel abigere vel colligare poſſent [f].

SECT. II.

PRæter integumenti linei particulam iſtam modo deſcriptam, aliud quoque ejuſdem fragmentum reſtat, ad pedes fere Mumiæ pertingens, at unica tantum imagine inſignitum, quam in hac etiam Tabula expreſſam videmus. Hanc autem Oſiridis imaginem eſſe puto; quem, tanquam ſupremum mundi Opificem ac Rectorem ab Ægyptiis veneratum eſſe conſtat; ut globus; capiti ejus impoſitus, indicare videtur; quo quidem ſymbolo, in Obeliſco pariter Flaminio, Oſiris inſtructus reperitur[g]. Hujus igitur effigiem, ob eam, quam diximus, cauſam, in Mumiæ noſtræ integumento, atque auguſtiori ſane forma, depictam eſſe, credibile eſt; ut hunc quoque, ſummum Deum, perinde ac Numina iſta Averrunca, ad cadaveris cuſtodiam attraherent.

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[e] Infra hanc Sex Averrunca Numina intra tres zonas ponuntur, quorum cuſtodiæ corpus commiſſum eſt; uti laquei, quos manibus tenent, quibus adverſarum poteſtatum vim ligare dicuntur, monſtrant, &c. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 413.

[f] In imo figurarum harum ordine, duo canes flagellis inſtructi pinguntur; quos in alia item Mumia, eodem fere modo depictos Kircherus protulit, atque ita interpretatur. "In tertia zona, inquit, duo "canes occurrunt, flagellis inſtructi, qui"bus Anubici ſeu Mercuriales Genii in"dicantur, quorum vigilantiæ corpus "commiſſum indicabatur. De quibus, "in Obeliſco Pamphilio, conſule Hiero"grammatiſmum de cane." Kircher. Ibid. p. 416.

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[g] Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 236, 237.

DE
MEDICORUM
APUD
VETERES ROMANOS
DEGENTIUM CONDITIONE
DISSERTATIO;

CONTRA VIROS CELEBERRIMOS
JAC. SPONIUM & *RICH. MEADIUM*, M. D. D.
Servilem atque ignobilem eam fuiſſe
OSTENDITUR.

DE
MEDICORUM
APUD
VETERES ROMANOS
Degentium Conditione
DISSERTATIO, &c.

VESPERI nuper cum Amici aliquot in Bibliothecam meam pro more coiſſemus, ſermones cum familiares, tum eruditos etiam fortaſſe in noctem uſque producturi; cumque unà, pro copia illa quam Cantabrigia noſtra facilè ſuppeditat, ex ſingulis ferè Scientiis docti aliqui adeſſent; poſteaquam, ut in congreſſu ſolemus, novi quicquid vel in re literariâ vel publicâ evenerat, in commune ſinguli contuliſſemus; Medico quodam, qui ex Collegio Regali convenerat, viro in primis probo atque erudito, nonnulla fortè de Variolis apud nos tunc graſſantibus interrogato; paucisque inde de variâ curandi Methodo diſputatis; ad Medicinam ſenſim labi ſermo, inque Artis ipſius præmiis & honoribus, Collegiique præcipuè Londinenſis famâ & celebritate totus verſari cœpit.

Tum ego; quàm vero, inquam, diverſa eſt apud nos rei Medicæ facies, ac Romæ olim fuit, ubi ignobilis per tot ſecula, atque abjecta Ars ipſa jacuit, non niſi à Servis atque extremæ ſortis hominibus tractata; quamque tanquam illiberalem ac

Cive prorſus indignam, de Romanis quidem nemo attingere ſit dignatus? Hìc autem Medicus noſter ſubridens, haud credidiſſe ſe, inquit, priſca illa, ac obſoleta planè quorundam commenta fidem adhuc apud ullos invenire; quæ ſæpius confutata, doctorum plerique tanquam vana & futilia jam diu repudiaſſent; quæque *Meadius* ipſe, Medicorum longe Princeps, oratione quadam Londini haud dudum habitâ, mera eſſe opprobria demonſtraverat, omnemque illam ſervitutis infamiam à *Medicis* prorſus in *Chirurgos* amoverat.

Meadius Medicorum Princeps!

Ego vero, Meadii licet Autoritate gravitèr commotus, cujus quidem Orationem necdum videram, ne tamen quæ dixeram, temerè planè, nulloque Auctore effutiſſe viderer, haud deſtiti alia ſane multa in eandem ſententiam diſſerere, & nonnulla Veterum teſtimonia, quæ memoriæ tunc ſuppetebant, plura etiam ex ſchedulis pollicitus, ad cauſam, quam ſuſceperam, confirmandam adducere: neque dicere dubitavi, *Meadium* ipſum duplicitèr planè labi videri; primùm, quòd *Medicos olim Romæ liberos eſſe & ingenuos*; deinde, quod *Chirurgos à cæteris Medicis diſtingui* omnino & *ſegregari* putaret; cum Utroſque communi cum nomine, tum conditione apud Veteres Romanos uſos ſemper eſſe certiſſimum eſſet.

Producta adeo paulatim hac noſtrâ diſputatione, & familiaritèr admodum, ut inter Amicos, ultro citroque pluribus verbis agitatâ; interfatus demum *Juris Civilis Profeſſor Regius*, Vir ſummâ modeſtiâ, parique eruditione; mihi ſe planè aſſentire dixit; propterea quod apud Veteres Juriſperitos in *Servorum familiis Medicos ſemper recenſeri* animadvertiſſet; [a] quibus tamen

Juris Civilis Professor.

Medici semper in Servorum familiis.

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[a] Servis autem & Ancillis majoribus decem annis, ſi ſine arte ſint, viginti ſolidis æſtimandis; ſin autem Artifices, ad triginta ſolidos æſtimatione eorum procedente. Notarios quinquaginta ſolidos æſtimari, Medicos autem & Obſtetrices ſexaginta. l. 3. Cod. Commun. de legat. &c.

is honos habitus; ut in *Servis familiam ducerent*; ac in Mancipiorum venditionibus cæteris omnibus *pluris æſtimarentur*. *Chirurgos* autem quod attinebat; haud credere ſe, a *reliquis Medicis* antiquitùs eos ſejungi; at contra; quaſi ii potius pro Medicis ſoli eſſent habendi; non meminiſſe aliam in Jure Civili Medicorum fieri mentionem[b], ac eorum, qui *manu curare*, ſeu *ſecare* conſueverint.

Chirurgi pro Medicis Solis habendi.

Bakerus denique noſter, qui colloquiis hiſce noſtris, non intereſſe ſolum, ſed pro illa, qua præſtat omnibus, Antiquitatis cognitione, præeſſe etiam ſolebat; cum opinioni meæ, ſuæ etiam ſententiæ pondus, tanquam cumulum quendam adjeciſſet; tum inſtare omnes; ut hanc totam quæſtionem, levitèr jam ac fortuitò inchoatam, accuratiùs ipſe tractandam atque ad finem perducendam ſuſciperem; quæque memoritèr tunc diſputaram, quæque ex ſchedulis plura promiſeram, in ordinem, quam primùm per otium liceret, redigerem, atque alio aliquo conventu noſtro recitanda proponerem. Horum itaque Autoritati obſecutus, ea omnia, quæ ad hanc cauſam pertinere, totamque complecti videntur, collegi ſtatim, atque in hanc, quæ ſequitur, perpetuæ diſſertationis formam conjeci.

Medendi Ars minùs exculta.

Apud veteres Romanos Medendi artem non ſolum minùs excultam, ſed ne cognitam quidem eſſe, ex Monumentorum omnium ſilentio ſuſpicari fas eſt. Cum enim alia omnia, quæ ad vitam, cultumque civilem pertinent, accurate legibus deſcripta, atque egregie ſint conſtituta; nihil tamen in omni Civitatis temperatione, de Medicina unquam, vel à Regibus, vel à Conſulibus inſtitutum, aut præceptum reperitur: Nec per plura deinceps ab Urbe condita ſecula, ullius unquam Medici fama, nomenve memoriæ traditur; vel artis quidem ipſius ulla ferè à Scriptoribus fit mentio. Neque mirum ſane raram ibi rei fieri mentionem, cujus rarum fuiſſe uſum neceſſe ſit; apud homines ſcilicet, ſumma temperantia educatos, ſummiſque laboribus exercitatos; quorum valetudini, uti ait *Valerius Maximus*[c], quaſi *quædam mater erat frugalitas, inimica luxurioſis epulis.* Eadem quippe cauſa, nimirùm vitæ victûſque tenuitas, Urbem & Medicis & Morbis ſimul vacuam ſervabat; dum *illos* nec præmiis, nec quæſtûs ſpe ulla allicere paupertas civium valebat; atque *his* parca illa vivendi ratio omnem quaſi materiam præcidens, medendi planè uſui ſuperſedebat. Nobilium interea plerique valetudinis tuendæ diſciplinam quandam in ſuâ quiſque familiâ inſtituiſſe videntur, ut *Cato Senior* apud Plutarchum[d], cum magno Medicorum omnium contemptu, gloriatur, ſe oleribus, carnibuſque ad concoquendum facilioribus, ſuam ſuorumque valetudinem conſervare ſolere.

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[b] Si Medicus Servum imperitè ſecuerit, vel ex locato, vel ex lege Aquiliâ competere Actionem. l. 7. §. f. ad leg. Aquil.

In ſuâ quiſque Familiâ.

In hoc rerum ſtatu Rempublicam ſine Medicis ad ſexcenteſimum uſque annum floruiſſe narrat[e] Plinius; qui tamen haud ita accipiendus eſt, quaſi neminem omnino per tot ſecula Medicinæ operam dediſſe aſſeruiſſet; quum Medicos, qualeſcunque tandem ii fuerint, diu ante Romæ extitiſſe, & multi Auctores ſint[f], & ipſe quidem *Arcagathum* quendam artem ibi antea exercuiſſe meminit[g]: itaque hoc ſolum ſignificaſſe intelligendus eſt; nullum illis temporibus Romanos habuiſſe Medicum, qui artis peritiâ, vel nominis famâ inclaruerit; artemque ipſam interea jacuiſſe penitùs, nullo loco aut honore habitam, nec niſi à Servis & extremæ ſortis hominibus adminiſtratam: quos fere omnes à Græcis, (qui magnam Italiæ partem, Siciliamque tunc omnem tenebant) aut bello captos, aut pretio emptos, aut fugitivos denique eſſe veriſimile eſt: quum in Græcia Medicorum ſervulos, dominos confectando[h], ægroſque ſimul obeundo, Medendi ſæpe artem didiciſſe, atque exercuiſſe certiſſimum eſt.

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[c] Lib. 2. c. 5.

[d] In vita Cat.

[e] Hiſt. Nat. l. 29. c. 1.

[f] Peſte Romæ circiter annum 301. graſſante, Medicos ægris curandis non ſufficere meminit Dion. Halicar—it. Plaut. Rud. 5. 3.
GR. Quid tu, num Medicus quæſo es?
LA. Immo edepol una litera plus ſum, quam Medicus. GR. Tum tu Mendicus es.

[g] Ibid.

A, ſervis et extremæ ſortis hominibus. Bello captis pretio emptis, aut ſugitivis

Horum autem nonnulli libertatem tandem, ſeu Dominorum gratiâ promerenda, ſeu pretio dato adepti, officinas plerumque ad operam ſuam, artiſque inſtrumenta publicè vendenda conducere ſolebant, quas *Medicinas* Plautus vocat[i]; quaſque perinde ac tonſtrinas, conciliis, cœtibuſque otioſorum frequentari ſolitas docet. Servos enim ex pecunia illa, quam de demenſo ſuo parcendo, geniumque defraudando corradere ſæpe ſolebant, libertatem haud rarò emiſſe conſtat[k]: qui verò artem ullam habebant, omnium certè facillime peculium ſibi, lucrumque quoddam adventitium, Dominorum conceſſu, ad emendam libertatem conficere poterant: quod Medicis præcipuè accidiſſe, dum eos tamen inter infimos hominum recenſet, indicare videtur Seneca[l]: qui divitias in bonis nequaquam eſſe numerandas contendit, propterea quod ejuſmodi bona *in Arte medendi humillimis quibuſque* contingere videmus.

Plautus.
Tonstrinas.
Seneca

Quum verò Græcia tandem, & Aſia ſubactæ, Imperioque adjectæ eſſent; tum luxu inde omnia, deliciiſque Romæ diffluere; Græcorumque artes in Urbem introductæ priſcam illam vitæ diſciplinam ſimplicitatemque omnem corrumpere; Principeſque viri tum primùm Græculos undique ſervos, artibus inſtructos, & Medicinæ præcipuè peritos, qui et valetudini &

Principes, græculos ſervos, Artibus Medicinæ peritos.

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[h] Κατ᾽ ἐπίταξιν τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ κατ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κτῶνται ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰατρῶν. Plato l. 4. 834.

[i] Amphit. 4. 1.

[k] Plaut. Rud. 4. 2. It. Senec. Ep. 80.

[l] Senec. 85.

luxuriæ ſimul miniſtrarent, conquirere ſibi ac omni ſtudio coemere cœperunt: neque Procerum poſthac Divitumve domus ulla *Medicis Servis* vel pluribus vel ſingulis ad minimum caruiſſe videtur; quorum deinceps in manibus Medendi Ars, ac provincia ferè omnis verſata eſt. Medicorumque adeò numerus dum in Urbe magis indies creſcebat, raró tamen adhuc de Medicina ipſa, ejuſve Profeſſoribus, tanquam de re humili & abjecta nimis, apud Auctores mentio occurrit: neque præter *unum Arcagathum* cuivis unquam Medico ante J. Cæſaris ætatem, jus Civitatis datum reperio: primuſque, ut opinor, circum idem tempus *Aſclepiades quidam*, Medendi arte celebris fuit; qui cum Rhetor primò fuiſſet[m] nec remedia noſſet, quum Rhetoricam tamen ſibi minus quæſtuoſam inveniſſet, ut ſagaci erat ingenio, ad Medicinam ſe convertit, ac famam inde magnam atque autoritatem adeptus, in Ciceronis deinceps amicitiam & familiaritatem[n] eſt receptus.

Nec Proceres nec Dives Medicis Servis caruerunt.

Arcagathum.

Asclepiades Rhetor ad medicinam se convertit.

Romæ interea tanto ſemper in dedecore ars tota jacuit, ut *ſolam eam Græcarum artium*, magno licet fructu propoſito, *Romani gravitate ſuâ indignam*[o] judicarint; *pauciſſimique illi Quiritium*, qui quæſtu vix tandem allecti, eam non niſi ſero attigerint, tanquam *ad Græcos transfugæ* habebantur. Apud illos bellicæ virtutis laus & ſplendor primum ſemper locum obtinuiſſe, primamque ad gloriam commendationem præbuiſſe videtur; qui vero in toga potius, foroque verſari, & pacatiora ſequi ſtudia maluerunt, *alii*, ut ait Cicero[p], *ſe ad Philoſophiam; alii ad jus Civile, alii ad eloquentiam applicuerunt*. Hiſce ſe Artibus ingenuus quiſque exercuit; hiſce ſolis viam ſibi ad opes, famam, honores patefecit: quem vero unquam Romanorum ad Medicinam ſeſe applicuiſſe, quemve Civem ex eo ſtudio laudem & gloriam reportaſſe legimus? quod tamen *ordini, cui convenit* (ſervis utique & libertis) *honeſtum eſſe, Cicero ipſe* agnoſcit[q]. Neque mirum ſane, veteres illos, qui liberalium Artium tractationem ad ſervos minimè pertinere arbitrabantur[r], atque ab iis prorſus ſtudiis, quibus ipſi dare operam ſolebant, ſervos legibus arcebant[ſ], Medendi Artem a ſervis omnino occupatam, atque adminiſtratam, tanquam *illiberalem* ac *ſordidam* rejeciſſe.

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[m] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 25. 2. it. 26. 3.

[n] Cic. de Orat. l. 1. 14.

[o] Plin. lib. 29. 1.

[p] De Offic. 1. 32,

Servis ac libertis honestum fuit.

Haud tamen negandum eſt, quin cum ſervulis hiſce Medicinam exercentibus, alii quoque ſeſe conjunxerint *Græculi eſurientes*, qui quæſtûs cauſâ e Græcia Romam effluxerint, liberæ fortaſſe, ſed humilis certe atque abjectæ conditionis; quippe gens illa omnis tanto Romæ in contemptu habita eſt, ut nomen ipſum *Græcus*[t], tanquam contumelioſum quiddam & opprobrii plenum, jactitare plebs atque in ore habere ſolebat: Hos vero omnes J. Cæſar[u], ut *Urbi bellis Civilibus exhauſtæ frequentiam priſtinam redderet, Civitate donavit*. Atque hæc prima Medicis ad honores janua patefacta; hoc primum iis dignitatis fundamentum jactum videtur; qui apud alios deinceps Principes gratiâ ſæpe valentes, opibuſque inde & variis immunitatibus aucti, ex ſervili atque ignobili ſtatu, ad honeſtum tandem; atque ex tenebris illis & obſcuritate in lucem paulatim & ſplendorem quendam evaſerunt. Artem autem ipſam, magnis licet privilegiis munitam poſthac atque ornatam, vix unquam tamen, ut mihi videtur, inter liberales cenſeri; contra vero; apud Juriſperitos a Studiis[w] liberalibus diſtingui ſemper & ſejungi reperio.

Græculi esurientes.

J. Cæsar, civitate donavit.

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[q] Ibid. 42.

[r] Ου χρὴ ποτ' ἄνδρα δȣ̃λον ὄντ' ἐλευθέρας γνώμας διώκειν· Eurip. Antiop.

[ſ] Servum hominem cauſas orare leges non ſinunt. Ter. Pher.

[t] Plutarc. in vita Ciceron. p. 863.

[u] Sueton. J. Cæſ. c. 42.

[w] Sed etſi Salarium alicui Decuriones decreverint; ut puta, ſi ob liberalem artem fuerit conſtitutum, vel ob Medicinam. l. 4. de Decret. ab ordin. faciend. it. exceptis, qui liberalium Studiorum Antiſtites, ſunt, & qui medendi curâ funguntur. l. 1. Cod. de Decret. Decur.

liberalium Studiorum Antistites et qui medendi curâ funguntur.

Atque hæc jam, quæ de Medicis Romæ degentibus expoſui, non conjecturâ modò probabilia, ſed vera omnia ac certa plane eſſe, ex conſtanti Auctorum omnium fide comprobari facilè poteſt: Quamvis enim, ut ſupra dixi, per prima illa ab Urbis ortu ſecula, altum quaſi de re tota ſit ſilentium; ex conſequentium tamen ſeculorum Scriptoribus plurima, nec illa quidem obſcura, ſuppetunt teſtimonia, quæ ſententiam meam prorſus confirmant; neque cuiquam certe dubium erit, quænam in priſca illa Urbis & Civium paupertate Medicorum fuerit conditio; cum florente jam, opibuſque omnibus affluente Republica, ignobilem eam, ſervilemque plane fuiſſe apparuerit: ad rem itaque probandam accedamus.

Domitius

Cleanthes Catonis Medicus.

Medicis et Praeceptoribus exceptis.

Pervulgata quidem eſt illa de *L. Domitio* Hiſtoria[x]; quem Corfinio capto, ne in Cæſaris poteſtatem veniret, *Medico ſervo* ſuo imperaſſe legimus, ut venenum ſibi daret: expertum tamen Victoris clementiam, *Medicum* ſtatim *manumiſiſſe*, quod prudens minùs noxium temperaſſet. Cleanthem quendam, Catonis *Medicum & Libertum*, Domini manum obligâſſe[y], atque inteſtina moribundo repoſuiſſe, vulnuſque conſuiſſe Plutarchus narrat: Auguſtus magna quadam annonæ caritate, ſervitiorum partem, exceptis *Medicis & Præceptoribus*, ex Urbe expuliſſe à Suetonio dicitur[z]: exſtatque ejuſdem Principis epiſtola, ad *Agrippinam neptem* his verbis ſcripta[a]: *Mitto præterea cum eo ex ſervis meis Medicum, quem ſcripſi Germanico, ſi vellet, retineret. Antonium* etiam *Muſam* (quem liberum Sponius[b] ingenuumque fuiſſe exiſtimat) Medicorum fere omnium celeberrimum, *Annulo aureo* & *Statuâ æreâ* publice donatum; Auguſti tamen *Servum & Li-*

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[x] Sueton. Nero, c. 2. Plut. in Vit. Cæſ. 724.

[y] In vita Cat.

[z] In Aug. c. 42.

[a] Id Calig. c. 8.

[b] Spon. Recherches curi d'Antiquitè Diſſert. 27.

bertum deinde fuiſſe ex *Dione* diſcimus[c]. Primus ille *Muſa* Balneorum uſum improbaſſe, & frigidâ omnino ægros demerſiſſe dicitur; eandemque hanc valetudinis tuendæ rationem ab eo ſibi præſcriptam meminit Horatius[d].

Apud Juriſperitos etiam, multæ ſæpe occurrunt de *Medicis*, tum *Servis*, tum *Libertis* propoſitæ quæſtiones. *Medicus libertus quod putaret, ſi liberti ſui Medicinam non facerent, multo plures imperantes ſibi habiturum*, poſtulabat, ut ſequerentur ſe, neque opus facerent. Id jus necne[e]? ubi ex voce illa, *imperantes*, abjectæ Medicorum conditionis indicium quoddam elicere poſſumus; quum *Medico imperare* à Veteribus dici ſolere videtur pro Medicum adhibere, ſeu advocare: Sed non opus eſt plura Auctorum teſtimonia colligere, remque ſatis claram auctoritatibus onerare, quæ magna ſane copia ſuppetunt; extant & Marmorum antiquorum Inſcriptiones bene multæ, ad hanc ipſam quæſtionem pertinentes, quarum paucas modo, ad Argumentum meum pleniùs illuſtrandum, ex Grutero apponendas duxi.

CHRESTE. CONSERVAE
ET. CONIVGI
CELADVS. ANTON.
DRVSI. MEDICUS
CHIRURG.
&c. 581.

EROS
AVGVSTAE
MEDICVS 581.
SPOSIANVS.

Θ. K.
T. AIΛIOC
ACKΛHΠIAΔHC
CЄBACTOϒ
AΠЄΛЄϒΘЄPOC
IATPOC
ΛOϒΔ. MAT.
XЄIP.
335.

M. RVFRIVS. M. L.
FAVSTVS. MEDICVS
IIIIII VIR AVG.
464.

EVTYCHVS. AVG. LIB. NERONIANVS. MEDICVS. LVDI.
MATVTINI 335.

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[c] ἦν γαρ ἀπελεύθερος. Dio ex Edit. H. Steph. p. 73.

[d] Epiſt. l. 1. 15.

Nam mihi Baias
Muſa ſupervacuas Antonius & tamen illis
Me facit inviſum, gelida quum perluor unda
Per medium frigus.

[e] Lib. 26. Princip. de oper. libert.

Talibus

Casaubonus.

Talibus monumentorum veterum, atque Auctorum confirmata teſtimoniis, conſtans ſemper de ſervili apud Romanos Medicorum conditione opinio invaluit: primus eam, ut opinor, in dubium vocare conatus eſt Iſ. Caſaubonus, in Animadverſionibus ſuis in Suetonium.

Sponius Medicus.

Meadius

Græcos

Libertinos

Chirurgos

Sponius deinde, Antiquitatis quidem ipſe ſcientiâ excellens, Medicus tamen, artique ſuæ nimium favens, opinionem hanc tanquam *vanum quoddam Robortelli commentum* irridet[f], omnemque ſervitutis indignitatem, a *Medicis* in *Chirurgos* atque *Ocularios* ridicule ſatis transferre conatur. Meadius denique noſter, Sponium omnino ſequens, magnificentiùs tamen, & glorioſiùs omnia de Arte ſua prædicat. Caſaubonus enim Medicos licet non omnes, at pleroſque tamen e Servorum numero, neque ullos quidem Romanos, ſed Græcos plane omnes fuiſſe fatetur: Sponius in hoc præcipue elaborat, ut a Servis ad proximum Libertinorum ordinem medendi artem evehat, atque uno quaſi gradu altiorem ponat: Meadius autem nihil omnino ſervile, nec humile quidem Medicis aſcribi patitur[g]; ſed in libertatem omnes, ac ingenuitatem ſimul aſſerit; Chirurgos ſolummodo, tanquam ſervile pecus, atque extremæ ſortis homines, libere nobis lacerandos propinans. Sed quibus tandem Argumentis hi tanti viri ad probandum utuntur, operæ pretium erit conſiderare.

Amicus Cæs.

Caſaubonus quum animadvertiſſet *Medicum* quendam[h] quem *J. Cæſar* a prædonibus captus, ſecum habuiſſe a *Suetonio* dicitur, *amicum Cæſaris a Plutarcho*[i] appellari; alioſque itidem Artem illam profitentes Principum Virorum amicitâ nonnunquam ac familiaritate uſos eſſe; ejuſmodi homines, quibus tantus honos habitus eſſet, *Servos* fuiſſe ſuſpicari, tanquam ridiculum credituque abſurdum arguit: hoc cum ille, tum poſt eum Sponius, argumento maximè utitur. Sed miror non animum attendiſſe Viros doctiſſimos, *amicorum cohortes* in plures gradus & ordines à Magnatibus ſegregari ſolere[k]; ut Lampridius de Alexandro Severo loquens, *tantæ cum moderationis fuiſſe ſcribit*, [l] ut *amicos non ſolum primi & ſecundi loci, ſed etiam inferioris, ægrotantes viſeret.* Neque mirum videri debet, non modo Libertinos ſed & Servos etiam, in *inferiorum Ordinum amicis* interdum numerari; cum meminerimus, quam benignè quamque familiariter iſtius ſortis homines, qui fide & ingenio præſtarent, vel à Principibus Viris tractari eſſent ſoliti.

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[f] Spon. Recherches Curieuſes d'Antiq. Diſſert. 27. It. Miſcellanea. Erudit. Antiq. Sect. 4. p. 141.

[g] Mead. Oratio Harveian. p. 8.

[h] Animadverſ. in Sueton. p. 8.

[i] In vita J. Cæſ.

Cohortes Amicorum

Alexander Severus.

Qui fide et Ingenio praestarent. E.g. Terentius.

Brutus ad Ciceronem ſcribens[m], *Glyconem*, inquit, *Medicum Panſæ diligentiſſimè tibi commendo; audimus eum veniſſe in ſuſpicionem de morte Panſæ, cuſtodirique ut Parricidam; nihil minùs credendum; eſt modeſtus homo & frugi —— rogo te & quidem valde rogo*, &c. quis jam Medicum illum, Bruto tantopere carum & familiarem, *amicum Bruti* vocare dubitaret, qui tamen *Panſæ Coſ. Servus*, aut ſaltem *Libertus* erat? Ciceroni autem ipſi nihil unquam *Servo ſuo Tirone* dulcius aut carius fuiſſe, epiſtolæ ſuæ ad eum miſſæ ſatis declarant: ob cujus tandem manumiſſionem gratias ei per litteras Q. Cicero frater agens[n], *Gratiſſimum*, inquit, *mihi feciſtì, cum eum indignum illa fortunâ, nobis Amicum, quàm Servum eſſe maluiſti:* tanquam nihil aliud eſſet Manumiſſio, quàm è ſervitute in amicitiam Domini tranſitus: hoc au-

Glicon

Rogo et valde rogo

Pansa Servus aut libertus.

Tiro

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[k] Conſuetudo iſta vetus Regibus, Regeſque ſimulantibus populum amicorum deſcribere: apud nos primi omnium C. Gracchus, & mox Livius Druſus inſtituerunt ſegregare turbam ſuam, &c. Senec. de Ben. l. 6. 33. It. de Clemen. 1. 10. It, Sueton. Tiber. c. 46.

[l] c. 20.

[m] Epiſt. ad Cic. 6.

[n] Cic. Ep, fam. ad Tiron. 6.

tem Medicis præcipuè & Præceptoribus contigiſſe, ut in *Amicos facilè tranſirent* teſtatur Seneca ;[o] quibus ſcilicet Artes ipſæ, quas profitentur, Dominorum gratiæ promerendæ hominibuſque beneficio obligandis omnium maximè ſint opportunæ. Sed quid tandem ad amorem Domini erga ſervum ſignificandum gravius eſſe poteſt, quam Inſcriptio publicè dicata ? hujuſmodi autem vetuſtam quandam exhibet *Turrius*,[p] Aquileiæ repertam, quàm ſummus, uti videtur, Coloniæ Magiſtratus *Servo ſuo Medico* poſuiſſet.

Phæbianus Medicus Servus

PHAEBIANO
SER.
MEDICO
FABIANUS
COS.

Hanc *Inſcriptionem*, inquit Auctor celeberrimus, *ægris oculis vidiſſet Sponius, qui à Servorum abjectâ conditione Medicos vindicare conatus eſt*. In notiſſimâ denique illâ de Pyrrho Rege hiſtoriâ ; hominem illum, qui Fabricio Conſuli, ſi de pretio conveniret, veneno Regem necare promiſit, *Medicum* Plutarchus[a] ; *Amicum* Gellius[q] ; *Famulum* autem *Regis* Claudianus vocat[p] : quæ tamen omnia tum inter ſe conſentire, tum ſententiam meam confirmare, ex ſupra dictis facilè patere arbitror.

abjectâ conditione

Medicus
Amicus
Famulus

Sponium quod attinet ; multum ille quidem ſeſe efferre atque exultare videtur, quod Medicorum unus aut alter *Ciceronis, Cæſariſvè Amicus* eſſet nominatus : quod quam leve totum ſit, ac futile, nihil neceſſe eſt pluribus oſtendere. Ut vero diligens admodum erat Antiquitatis omnis Inveſtigator ; in Monumen-

leve ac futile,

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[o] De Ben. l. 6. 26.

[p] Philip. a Turre Monumen. Vet. Antij. p. 361.

[q] In vita Pyrrhi. p. 396.

[r] Noct. Att. 3. 8.

[ſ] De Bello Gild. 271.

tis tamen veterum perſcrutandis idem ille quidem facere videtur, quod ii omnes ſolent, qui certis quibuſdam deſtinatiſque ſententiis ſeſe addixerint; ea videlicet, quæ opinionibus ſuis præjudicatis favere quoquo modo credant, rapere undique & in partes ſuas torquere, alia verò omnia negligere facilè aut celare. Sed ut Argumentationis ejus vim omnem complecti facilius, & comprehendere queamus; inſcriptionum quarundam veterum, quibus præcipuè cauſam ſuam evincere, contrariamque refellere conatur, maximam partem huc quoque transferendam curavi.

I.

M. LATINIVS
MEDICVS
OCVLARIVS.

Latinius Medicus Ocularius.

II.

M. ALLIVS. PAMPHILVS
MEDICVS.
&c.

Pamphilus Medicus

III.

C. CALPVRNIVS. ASCLEPIADES
PRVSA. AD. OLYMPVM. MEDICVS
PARENTIBVS. ET. SIBI. ET. FRATRIB.
CIVITATES. VII. A. DIVO. TRAIANO
IMPETRAVIT. &c.

Asclepiades Medicus

IV.

ILLVSTRIVS. TI. CAESARIS.
AVG. SER. CELADIANVS
MEDICVS. OCVLARIVS.

Servus Celadianus
Medicus Ocularius.

V.

Nicander Medicus

M. FONTEIVS
NICANDER
MEDICVS.

VI.

Cassius Medicus

L. ANNIVS. CASSIVS. MITHR
ADORVS. MEDICVS. &c.

VII.

Asclepiades Medicus.

L. ARRVNTIO
SEMPRONIANO
ASCLEPIADI
IMP. DOMITIANI
MEDICO. &c.

VIII.

Medicus clinicus

TI. CLAVDIVS. IVLIANVS
MEDICVS. CLINICVS. COH. IIII.
PR. FECIT. VIVOS. SIBI. ET.
TVLLIE. EPIGONE. CONIVGI.
LIBERTIS. LIBERTABVSQ;
CLAVDIIS. &c.

Libertis & Claudiis

IX.

P. CHARM.
SOSTHE.
MEDIC.
IIIIII. VIR. AVG.

Hiſce *pauculis Inſcriptionibus*, inquit Sponius, [t] *deſirui poteſt ridiculum Robortelli commentum; qui aſſeruit, Romæ tantum ſervos Medicinam exercuiſſe. Etiamſi etenim in Inſcriptione, Illuſtrius Tib. Cæſaris ſervus fuerit Medicus; obſervandum eſt, addi Ocularius; ſicque potiùs Chirurgum quàm Medicum fuiſſe. At in aliis lapidibus Medici ſoli ingenui, aut liberti,* &c. *quorum ultimus vero, præterquam ingenuus fuit, ſextumviratûs dignitate ornatus obſervatur.*

Robortellus

De primâ autem illâ inſcriptione, *literas*, M. L; quæ Latinii nomen ſequi debuiſſent, *libertinam* videlicet ejus conditionem indicantes, a Sponio detractas eſſe, vir doctus *Malvaſia* oſtendit [u]. Secundam quod attinet; Amicus meus *Juſtus Fontaninus*, Romanæ Eccleſiæ Præſul, vir omni literarum genere præſtantiſſimus, ſcriptiſque in lucem editis meritò celeberrimus, in libro ſuo de Antiquitatibus Hortæ (quem inter alia plurima amicitiæ & benevolentiæ ſuæ pignora ab eo Romæ dono accepi) diverſo planè modo eam nobis exhibet; videlicet, MALLIVS PAM. &c. Nulla interpunctionis notulâ ad prænomen diſtinguendum adhibitâ: atque ex eo Pamphilum illum è *ſervorum grege* fuiſſe, necdum libertate donatum contendit; propterea quod prænomine, quo cives omnes utebantur, careret: [w] Sponiumque deinde levitèr reprehendit, quod ultra quam par ſit, Robortelli opinionem irrideat.

Malvasia

Fontaninus

De Aſclepiade autem Medico proximè memorato, quam puerilia & inepta omnia protulit Sponius? [x] Qui inſcriptionem ipſam in Gallicum ſermonem vertens, *ſeptem Urbium Dominium & Principatum* ab Imperatore Trajano eum obtinuiſſe aſſerit:

Puerilia et inepta

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[t] Miſcell. Erud. Antiq. p. 144.

[u] Marmora Felſin. Sect. 5. c. 1.

[w] Cap. 9. p. 166.

[x] Diſſer. 27. p. 431.

Neque Meadius deinde hunc tantum virum, ſeu Principem potius, *totque Civitatum donationem*, in Artis ſuæ gloriam commemorare omiſit. [y] Sed quid tandem, ſi Diis placet, hæc tam magnifica ſibi velint? Reineſius enim, Auctor quidem ille gravis, Medicuſque celebris, (unde ipſam etiam inſcriptionem tranſtulerat Sponius) nihil aliud *Aſclepiadem* huncce fuiſſe dicit,[z] quàm *ſervum è Calpurnia Familiâ* manumiſſum, qui Trajani favore *Civis privilegia & immunitatem*, non ſolum Romæ, ſed in ſex aliis Græciæ & Aſiæ Civitatibus ſibi, ſuiſque impetraverat: Nec quicquam ſane ampliùs inſcriptionis ipſius verbis ſignificari certiſſimum eſt; quippe *ſeptem Urbium Dominatus* ab optimo & prudentiſſimo Principe *Mædico Græculo* donatus, non ſolùm incredibile quiddam videtur, ſed à ſcriptoribus omnibus ſilentio præteriri nullo modo poterat.

Asclepiades Servus.

Civis Privilegia

Cæteros autem Medicos in reliquis illis lapidibus nominatos, quis unquam ſanus ingenuos, ut ille, atque ex familiis quarum nomina præ ſe ferunt, oriundos credere poteſt? quidni potius ſervos omnes fuiſſe exiſtimemus, qui manumiſſi poſtea, *Dominorum* ſibi *nomina*, & *prænomina* pro more aſſumſerant?

Verterat hunc Dominus momento turbinus, exit
Marcus, Dama, &c.——Perſ. Sat. 5. 78.

Hoc ſanè de *Claudio illo Juliano* quam maximè eſt probabile; non tam propter conjugem Græcam *Epigonem*, quam quod *Claudiæ familiæ*, è quâ ipſe manumiſſus eſſet, *libertis*, *libertabuſque* commune Sepulchrum poſuiſſe videtur. Sin quod minùs eſt veriſimile, liberos eos eſſe concedamus; Romani tamen eſſe non poterant; ſed ex Græculis iſtis, qui ab Imperatoribus Civitate

Ex Græculis æsurientibus.

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[y] Crat. Harv. p. 9.

[z] Syntag. Inſcript. Antiq. Claſſ. 11. 4.

donati, Magnorumque in clientelam recepti, Romana deinceps nomina uſurparunt; retento tamen plerumque atque adjecto veteri Græco: Quales proculdubio (ſi non ſervi potiùs ſint exiſtimandi) *Caſſium*, *Fonteium*, *Arruntium* fuiſſe ex ipſis inſcriptionibus ſatis apparet.

Sextum viratum denique *Auguſtalem* quod attinet; quem Medicus ille Charmes in inſcriptione geſſiſſe dicitur: errat planè Vir Eruditus, quod non niſi ad *Ingenuos Nobileſque* deferri eum exiſtimaverit; [a] quum & Libertinis præcipuè, ſeu ſemper potiùs delatum fuiſſe multæ aliæ inſcriptiones declarant: quarum quidem una ipſam pecuniæ ſummam memorat, quam *Medicus Servus* pro libertate; quamque *libertus* deinde pro *Seviratu* in Rempublicam dediſſet [b].

P. DECIMVS. P. L. EROS.
MERVLA. MEDICVS
CLINICVS CHIRVRGVS
OCVLARIVS. VI. VIR.
HIC. PRO. LIBERTATE. DEDIT. H. S. I,,
HIC. PRO. SEVIRATV. IN. REMP.
DEDIT. H. S. ∞ . ∞ .

Hier. Mercurial. Var. Lect. l. 3.

Medicus clinicus chirurgus
Ocularis

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[a] Diſſert. 27. p. 435.

[b] Seviratus hicce Auguſtalis, quale tandem Munus fuerit, ſive Sacerdotium, ſive magiſtratus quidam in municipiis, haud inter Eruditos conſtat: ex Tacito [Ann. 1. 54. 1.] & Suetonio [Claud. c. 6.] diſcimus, poſt mortem Auguſti Sacerdotium quoddam in honorem Juliæ Gentis a Tiberio eſſe inſtitutum; in quod forte deligebantur Primores Civitatis, unus & viginti, *Sodalium Auguſtalium* nomine, qui ſacris, ludiſque in Cæſarum defunctorum honorem conſtitutis præfuerunt; quibus poſtea extra ordinem adjecti Tiberius, Druſus, Claudius, Germanicus. Hujus Sodalitatis ad ſimilitudinem, rebuſque ut opinor, iiſdem procurandis, *Seviratus Auguſtalis* in Coloniis & Municipiis creatus videtur: Ordo quidem inter Decuriones & plebem medius; ut ex Veteribus marmoribus patet. Honorem ipſum pecuniâ plerumque emptum; nonnunquam tamen à Decurionibus ob merita gratuito datum; nec tamen perpetuum fuiſſe, ſed quinquennale & repetitum interdum ex Inſcriptionibus antiquis colligitur.

Sponius

Quid interest, Servine an Liberti?

Frugi et diligentes.

Liberi, non Ingenui

Mena

Sponius autem, dum Medicorum veterum conditionem liberam ac ingenuam probare ſtudet, evertit planè, ut mihi videtur, quod tanto opere aſtruere laborat, cum è *Libertinorum* tandem familiâ maximam eorum partem exiiſſe fateri cogatur: quid enim tantum intereſt, *Servine* Medendi Artem exercuerint an *Liberti?* quum hos etiam in ſervitute illam cum didiciſſe, tum exercuiſſe neceſſe ſit: *Servos* autem *frugi* & *diligentes* (atque ut ex ſupra dictis conjicere licet, omnium maxime Medicos) haud *quinquennio diutiùs ſervire*, ſed in libertatem deinde emitti ſolere, *ex Cicerone* colligere poſſumus: [c] atque hinc *Medicorum Libertorum*, quorum nomina toties occurrunt, tantus numerus effluxit: qui quidem etſi *liberi* dici poſſint, (quum tamen non omnes fortaſſe juſtâ libertate fruebantur) at *Ingenui* certè nunquam exiſtimabantur: contra verò; *Libertinos* atque *Ingenuos*, tanquam contrariæ ſortis homines, ſibi invicem oppoſitos ſemper ab Auctoribus invenimus, *Hominibus*, inquit Seneca, [d] *prodeſſe Natura jubet, Servi, Liberive ſint; Ingenui an Libertini.* Narratque Suetonius, [e] Auguſtum *neminem unquam Libertinorum cœnæ adhibuiſſe*, excepto Mena, (S. Pompeii Liberto) *ſed aſſerto prius in Ingenuitatem.*

Meadius

Infamiam in Chirurgos.

Utrique autem Medici.

Sed ad Meadium tandem noſtrum veniamus, qui in hac quæſtione tractandâ, [f] in id unum totus incumbit, ut inuſtam *Medicis* ſervitutis infamiam in *Chirurgos* penitùs removeat; *Illos* Romæ ſemper ſplendidos, honoribuſque auctos; *Hos* tantummodò ignobiles, abjectos, ſerviles eſſe contendens: Utrique autem cum *Medici* à Veteribus appellabantur, inde errorem hunc omnem naſci innuit, quod quos eodem nomine appellatos Viri docti obſervaſſent, eâdem etiam vitæ conditione uſos crederent.

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[c] Orat. Philip. 8. 11.

[d] De Vita Beat. c. 24.

[e] Aug. c. 74.

[f] Orat. Harv. p. 8.

Sed parum ei felicitèr in re probandâ ſucceſſit: ex omnibus enim, quos enumerat Medicis, duos tantùm profert, de quorum conditione certi aliquid ac indubitati memoriæ proditur; *Arcagathum* ſcilicet, & *Antonium Muſam:* quorum ille quidem liber & Civitate donatus, ſed *Chirurgus* certè, ſeu ut *Plinius*, eum vocat, [g] *Medicus Vulnerarius*; Hic autem, *Medicus* planè ſummus, ſummiſque honoribus ornatus, *Auguſti* tamen ut ſupra dixi, *Servus* & *Libertus* fuit: de reliquis illis, quorum *Romana* quidem nomina adducit, *Caſſiis*, *Calpetanis*, *Arruntiis*, &c. quid conſtituendum ſit, ex ſupra memoratis facilè judicabimus: quos ſi Cives ipſe, ingenuoſque omnes fuiſſe, cum Sponio credere poteſt; haud tamen aliis perſuadere credat; *Nobiles* unquam *Romános* Artem illam exercuiſſe, quam vel *infimus* quiſque *gravitate ſuâ indignam* arbitrabatur; quamque *nullus omnino Quiritium*, niſi ſerò admodum, nec ut *Clericus ipſe* fatetur, ante Cæſarum ætatem unquam attigit.

Arcagatham Musam

Medicus Vulnerarius

Servus et Libertus

Obſervat autem Vir Celeberrimus, in Nummo quodam *Rubriæ Familiæ*, *Anguem Deæ Salutis Simbolum* conſpici, quem ad florentem tunc in ea familia Medicinæ laudem referri omnino oportere cenſet [h]: miraturque Patinum & Vaillant, Medicos quidem ambos, in Nummis Familiarum Romanarum explicandis, *rem Arti ſuæ tam honorificam* prætermiſiſſe: at in aliis etiam Nummis Conſularibus, quos ipſe quoque exhibet [i], Uno ſcilicet *Juniæ*, altero *Aciliæ Familiæ*, ipſa *Deæ Salutis* imago expreſſa cernitur: num Medici propterea familiarum iſtarum Principes; nihil ſane minus credendum. Sed *Juniorum* nummus, ob Templi *Deæ Saluti* ædificati memoriam, percuſſus exiſtimatur, quod *Junius Bubulcus* ex voto, quod Conſul fecerat, Dictator dedicavit A. U. 451. [k] Alterque iſte *Acilianus*, munus aliquod, vel magiſtratum, ad valetudinem populi contra peſtem, morbumve quendam contagioſum tuendam inſtitutum, geſtumque feliciter denotat, uti ex ipſa inſcriptione Viri docti judicant. MV. ACILIVS. III. VIR. VALETV. Quidni igitur cum Patino, *Rubriorum* etiam Nummum illum (quo Æſculapii in Urbem advectio denotari atque exprimi videtur) ad operam aliquam ſingularem ea occaſione Reipublicæ præſtitam, ſeu ad ſumptus Templo ejus ædificando, vel ornando poſtea ab ea familia præbitos, referendum arbitremur? Sed ut privatos hoſce Cives omittamus; in Imperatorum ſæpiſſime nummis eadem illa cernitur *Salutis* effigies; ſignificans videlicet, ſalutem a Principe vel Imperio publicè, vel certis quibuſdam Civibus præcipuè datam [l]; ſeu vota & ſacrificia pro conſervatione, & valetudine Imperatoris à populo, vel Civitate aliqua facta. Ex talibus autem nummis, ſi Imperatores ipſos medicinam exercuiſſe putaremus, haud magis abſurdum eſſet, quam ſi Nobiles illos *Junios*, *Acilios*, *Rubrios*, Conſulum adhuc ætate, Artem illam profeſſos crederemus; quæ illis certe temporibus dedecus potius & infamiam, quam laudem, gloriamve nummis percutiendis celebrari dignam attuliſſet.

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[g] Hiſt. Nat. l. 29. 1.

[h] Orat. p. 11.

[i] Ibid. p. 31. Aſſerit. [p. 49.] inter alias Romanorum familias, Rubriam Medicinæ laude floruiſſe; Pliniumque teſtem adducit: qui tamen nec de Rubria, nec de aliis iſtis familiis ne verbum profert; ſed inter Medicos tantummodo celeberrimos memorat Caſſios, Carpitanos, Arruntios, Albutios, Rubrios — quos Servos potius, quam Familiarum Principes fuiſſe, ut modo dixi, haud dubitandum eſt.

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[k] T. Liv. l. 10. 1.

[l] Cum conjuratio quædam (cujus Princeps Cn. Cornelius, Pompeii magni ex filia nepos) contra Auguſtum eſſet detecta, Liviæ Auguſtæ conſilio atque interceſſione non veniam modo Conjuratores, ſed honores & Magiſtratus ab Imperatore conſecutos eſſe, tradit Dio: [Cæſ. Aug. l. 55. p. 85.] In cujus rei memoriam Nummum illum percuſſum eſſe, veriſimile eſt, in cujus averſa parte, Liviæ facies conſpicitur, hac inſcriptione; SAL. AVG. Vid. Agoſtin. Dial. 2. Tab. 45. Statuam etiam illam, quæ Romæ adhuc cernitur, Liviæque Auguſtæ faciem, ſub Deæ Salutis imagine exhibet, ob eandem cauſam, atque eodem tempore fingi credibile eſt. Vid. Raccolt. di Statue di Roma.—

Dum autem a Medicis contumeliam propulſare conatur, caveat tandem vir digniſſimus, ne in alios ipſe quidem contumelioſus reperiatur; Chirurgos velim, viros ſane honeſtos, & Reipublicæ utiles; quoſque a reliquis Medicis, nec nomine, nec conditione antiquitus unquam diſtingui, aut ſegregari reperio: Niſi fortaſſe credendum potius ſit, Chirurgicam Medicinæ partem, cum antiquiorem, tum majori etiam apud veteres honore fuiſſe habitam. Ipſe quidem *Æſculapius* non aliam ob cauſam in Deorum numerum relatus dicitur, quàm quod *Specillum* (Chirurgorum quoddam inſtrumentum) *invenerit, primuſque vulnera obligare docuerit*[m]*:* ejuſque itidem Filios, ab Homero tantopere celebratos, *Podalirium* & *Machaonem*, non ad peſtem morboſve medendos, ſed ad vulnera ſolum curanda adhiberi cernimus: *Ex quo apparet*, inquit Celſus[n], *has partes Medicinæ ſolas ab his eſſe tentatas, eaſque eſſe vetuſtiſſimas.* Arſque ipſa Chirurgorum adeo propria ab Antiquis exiſtimabatur, ut nomen inde, a telis ſcilicet eximendis, apud Græcos eam duxiſſe *Sextus Empiricus* Auctor eſt[o]: Ἰατρικὴ εἴρηται τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἰῶν ἐξαιρέσεως. Quam quidem nominis definitionem ab Homero plane ſumſiſſe videtur.

> Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων
> Ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνειν, &c.————Iliad. λ. 514.

Hier. Mercurialis, Medicus quidem ipſe doctiſſimus, omnes priſcos Medicos Chirurgos fuiſſe agnoſcit; atque ad Galeni uſque tempora Medicamenta ſibi ipſis paraſſe: Uti *Compertum habent*, inquit[p], *qui in Auctoribus antiquioribus*, atque Hippocrate præcipue ſunt verſati.

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[m] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

[n] Præf. lib. de re Med.

[o] Adv. Mathem. l. 1. c. 2.

[p] Var. lect. l. 1. c. 13.

Apud veteres certe Romanos, communi Medicorum nomine cum utroſque appellari, tum utraſque ſimul Medicinæ partes ab eodem ſemper exerceri certiſſimum eſt. *Arcagathus* ille, qui omnium primus Medicinæ profitendæ cauſa e Græcia Romam, Anno Urbis 535, veniſſe dicitur[q], *Chirurgus*, ut ante dixi, fuit, tabernamque ad operam locandam publice datam habuit. *Plautus* etiam, qui eodem tempore, ſeu poſteriùs aliquanto floruit, de *Medicis* quoties loquitur, haud alios ac *Chirurgos* eſſe confirmat.

> *Lumbi ſedendo, oculi ſpectando dolent,*
> *Manendo Medicum, dum ſe ex opere recipiat;*
> *Odioſus tamen vix ab ægrotis venit;*
> *Ait ſe obligaſſe crus fractum Æſculapio,*
> *Apollini autem brachium,* &c. —— Menæc. 5. 3.

C. Marium crura tumoribus quibuſdam deformata Medico ſecanda obtuliſſe legimus[r]; & ſecandi acerbitatem ſine ullo doloris indicio pertuliſſe. *Cicero* de Milite Veterano ac Exercitato loquens[ſ], ob vulnera fortiorem eum fieri dicit, nec requirere aliud, quàm *Medicum, a quo obligetur. Catonis Medicum illum* ſupra memoratum *Chirurgi* proprio munere fungentem vidimus. Gladiatorum denique *Ludi ſinguli*, ut ex Inſcriptionibus plurimis apparet, ſingulos ſibi Medicos habuerunt, in utrumque certe, tum *valetudinem tuendam*, tum *vulnera medenda*, paratos æque ac inſtructos.

Imperatorum autem poſtea temporibus, cum Civium ſimul & Medicorum multitudo in immenſum quaſi excreviſſet; atque in Urbe opibus omnibus abundante, vel *quælibet Medicinæ pars* vectigal, quæſtumque ſatis amplum profitentibus conficere valeret; tum primùm in partes varias ſecari quaſi, & dividi Medendi Ars; tum ſingulæ deinceps a ſingulis tractari & adminiſtrari;

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[q] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 29. 1. [r] Plut. in C. Mar. [ſ] Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 2. 38.

ſtrari; tum vel minima quæque corporis pars, certuſve quilibet dolor *Medicos ſibi proprios*, & *unice addictos* habere cœpit[t]: atque hinc denique *Clinicorum*, *Chirurgorum*, *Oculariorum*, *Auriculariorum*, &c. nomina effluxere: quæ tamen omnia uni interdum, eidemque adhuc competere, ex Inſcriptione ſupra allata, atque aliis multis liquet.

Poſtremis temporibus, inquit Menagius[u], *partem illam Medicinæ, quæ manu medetur, ab aliis homines ſejunxerunt: quando factum hoc diſſidium, dixerit alius, non ego; certe poſt Antoninos.* Scio autem Celſum, prout a Clerico citatur[w], multis antea annis factam hanc Medicinæ partitionem indicare videri: dubitat autem vir eruditus, an Celſus de ea, tanquam facta jam, & in uſum perducta; an de re ſolum utili, quamque inſtituendam exoptarat, eſſet locutus; cum Celſi ipſius ætate, antiquum adhuc morem obtinuiſſe, omneſque ſimul Medicinæ partes ab uno eodemque tractatas ſæpe eſſe appareat.

Quicquid vero de hac re ſtatuamus; hoc unum certiſſimum eſt, *Medicos* & *Chirurgos* pari ſemper conditione & dignitate apud veteres Romanos extitiſſe; viderintque tandem ii, qui conſtantem doctorum fere omnium opinionem, tanquam *ridiculum commentum, in opprobrium artis prolatum*, inſectantur; quam temere ipſi, nullo Antiquitatis Monumento, nullo Auctore muniti, in alios, immerentes illos quidem & indignos, mera opprobria jaciant.

Meadius autem, ne, ſi nihil omnino de ignobili Medicorum veterum ſtatu fateretur, obſtinatum nimis & pervicacem ſeſe oſtenderet; concedere tandem aliquid videtur, ſed tanta verborum obſcuritate involutum & quaſi vi extortum, ut ſenſum inde vix ullum quidem, nedum clarum & diſtinctum elicere facile valeamus: ejuſque ideo verba integra huc appoſui, ut ſolertior aliquis ea mihi expedienda ſuſcipiat.

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[t] Medicos fortaſſe quis excipiet, etiam eos, qui alicujus partis corporis, vel certi doloris ſanitatem pollicentur: ut puta, ſi Auricularius, ſi Fiſtulæ, vel dentium, &c. l. 1. §. 3. Dig. de var. & extraor. cognition.

[u] Amœnitat. Jur. Civ. c. 35. p. 227.

[w] Hiſt. de la Medicine. l. 1. pt. 2. c. 9.

Nihil igitur ſervile, inquit ille[x], *aut tenue quidem, Artem noſtram adhuc dedecorat. Sed ut plane & ſine fuco totam rem dicam, ſimul cum ingenuis multis, & doctis viris, non pauci ſcientiæ & fortunæ bonis inferiores, illis temporibus Romam veniebant*; qui *etſi non Medicamentis, ſed manu curarent, Medici tamen appellabantur. Hi in divitum & Magnatum clientelam ſe conferebant, & Servi agebant, donec Civitatem conſequerentur, inde Liberti, nomen alicujus Familiæ Romanæ ſibi adſciſcere ſolebant: neque raro, ſi ingenium ſtudio literarum excoluiſſent, morbis etiam internis medebantur,* & *in Medicorum Clinicorum cenſum veniebant. Tali conditione fuit Antonius Muſa,* &c.

Hæc ille; ſed ut mihi quidem videtur, cum verbis tum ſententiis ſibi ipſi plane repugnans: ut enim alia omittam; ego ſane haud intelligo, quemadmodum ii, qui e Græcia *ſponte* quidem veniſſent, atque in Divitum clientelam ſeſe contuliſſent, *Servos* deinde *Romæ agere,* iidemque *Magnatum Clientes* & *Servi* ſimul eſſe poſſent? Hujuſmodi autem omnia, (ſive errata, ſeu minus tantum accurata vocemus) & longe quidem majora, tali certe viro facile ſunt ignoſcenda: cui tantis rebus occupato, otium ad hujuſmodi nugas exquirendas nullo modo ſuppetit; cujuſque aſſiduis occupationibus quantum unquam moræ interponatur, tantum ſane de publicis commodis detrahitur.

Clericus autem ille, quem ſupra nominavi, in libro illo, quo Medendi Artis hiſtoriam diligenter & erudite contexuit, hanc omnem quæſtionem copioſe tractat[y]; & quamvis Medicus, non dubitat tamen, quæ in utramque partem dici ſolent, in medium proferre, aliis judicium relinquens: in hoc tantum errare viſus;

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[x] Orat. p. 9.

[y] Lib. 1. p. 3. c. 2.

quod Sponii Autoritatem ſequens, Medicos illos *Arruntium*, *Calpetanum*, *Rubrium*, *&c.* quos *Romanorum primos* Medicinam attigiſſe dicit, ex *ampliſſimis Civium familiis* ad eam illico acceſſiſſe credat: quaſi artem illam, quæ Romani Civis exiſtimationi nocere plane exiſtimabatur, *Nobiles* ſtatim exercuiſſe, omnino eſſet credibile: idque *Auguſti*, *Tiberii*ve ætate, cum vel multis poſt annis Medici, ut ſupra dixi, in *humillimis mortalium* a *Seneca* adhuc numerantur.

Sed de hac omni diſceptatione hactenus: nec quemquam jam exiſtimare velim, me horum aliquid diſputaſſe, ut Medendi arti, honeſtæ ei quidem atque imprimis utili, invidiam, aliquam conflarem, dedecuſve inurerem: Nihil minus mihi in animo erat; quippe haud alius quiſquam Medicorum plures, amicitiâ ſibi & conſuetudine omni conjunctos habet, aut habere magis cupit: quorum pleroſque cognovi ſemper, tum Viros bonos, tum in omni fere doctrinæ genere excellentes. Nec ipſam ſane quæſtionem ad veram artis gloriam, laudemque pertinere omnino arbitror: etenim hoc ſibi Medicina nullo modo præcipuum, ſed cum aliis pleriſque artibus commune habet; quod Romæ tardius olim recepta, neglecta & contempta fuerit[z]: neque *Medici* magis vituperandi, quod a priſcis illis Quiritibus nullo loco habiti eſſent, quam *Poetæ*; quorum familiaritatem & conſuetudinem M. Cato Senatori cuidam, tanquam probrum aliquod objeciſſe fertur[a]: tota hæc diſputatio in Hiſtorica quadam diſquiſitione unice verſatur; quæ etſi omnibus ſane levicula; nonnullis tamen, uti ſpero, nec injucunda, nec homine in literis otiante indigna prorſus videbitur; qui tamen & his fortaſſe graviora, uti alias fecerit, ita in poſterum etiam ſit aliquando in lucem editurus.

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[z] Serò a noſtris Poetæ vel cogniti, vel recepti.——Philoſophia jacuit uſque ad hanc ætatem, nec ullum habuit lumen Latinarum literarum. Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. 1.

[a] Ibid.——

DISSERTATIONIS
DE
Medicorum Romæ Degentium
CONDITIONE IGNOBILI & SERVILI,
CONTRA
ANONYMOS QUOSDAM
Notarum Brevium, Reſponſionis, atque Animadverſionis
AUCTORES,
DEFENSIO.

Qui admonent amicè docendi ſunt, qui inimicè inſectantur repellendi. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.

DISSERTATIONIS

DE

MEDICORUM ROMÆ DEGENTIUM

Conditione Ignobili & Servili

DEFENSIO, &c.

CUM de *Medicorum Romæ olim degentium conditione* Diſſertationem meam in publicum edere ſtatuiſſem, nullius mihi vel animum vel exiſtimationem lædere propoſitum erat; ſed cum eruditis quibuſcunque atque antiquarum præſertim rerum ſtudioſis, gratiam me potius initurum putaram, ſi quæſtionem in Antiquitatis cognitione verſatam, atque à viris doctis, etſi levitèr ſolummodo, at ſæpius tamen, varièque agitatam, penitùs ipſe perſcrutandam, fuſiùſque explicandam, arriperem: quippe ego, qui niſi laceſſitus, atque injuriæ propulſandæ cauſa, neminem mihi unquam laceſſendum duxerim, haud tam temerarius fuiſſem ut *Florentiſſimi Medicorum Ordinis* inimicitias, hac meâ præſertim minùs firmâ valetudine, ultro mihi ſubeundas putarem.

Sed ut dicam planè quod ſentiam; ego nec intelligere unquam potui, neque adhuc ſanè cauſam videre queo, cur hæc noſtra diſputatio *Medicis* omnino *Stomachum* moveret; cur vè offenſos inde aut indignè ſeſe tractatos judicarent. Etenim quid ſi *Priſci illi Romani* de Arte iſta minùs quidem, quàm oportuit, honorificè cenſuerint; num ad horum temporum Medicos hoc ullo modo pertinere exiſtimabitur ? Si homines, inquam, illi artium bonarum rudes, literarumque expertes, Medicinam, juxta ac reliquas artes contempſerint, nec Civibus quidem ſuis colendam judicaverint; num hoc apud Viros graves de verâ artis laude detrahere aliquid aut imminuere poterit? Numvè mirandum eſt, in quâ Urbe per tot ſecula nec luxus, nec pecunia ferè reperiebatur, quorum alterum Morbos, alterum Medicos alit, in ea Urbe, *medendi artem* jacuiſſe, atque ab *Ingenuis liberiſque hominibus*, quibus vitam pro ſuo cujuſque arbitrio inſtituendi facultas eſſet, omnino rejectam ac contemptam eſſe ?

Apud *Turcas* hodie, ſi peregrinantibus habenda fides, hæc eadem Ars nullo ferè loco haberi, ſed à *Servis*, *Obſtetricibus*, *Græculis*, *Judæiſque* adminiſtrari dicitur: quis tamen hoc *Medicinæ ipſi* infamiam ullam, dedecuſvè afferre arbitratur? quiſve non Nationis ejus inſcitiam potiùs & barbariem irridet, quæ Artem tam utilem, tamque neceſſariam non pluris æſtimet; nec præmiis honoribuſque propoſitis homines ſuos ad eam excolendam excitet ?

Videram autem, fateor, nonnullos, viros eos quidem graves atque eruditos, vel gloriolâ quâdam elatos, vel artis ſuæ caritate nimis faſtidiosâ incenſos, hanc omnem diſputationem impatienter ſatis, nec niſi ægro planè animo tuliſſe; atque in eâ refutandâ, perinde ac opprobrio aliquo à Medicis repellendo, tam vehementèr elaboraſſe, ut ſeſe vix à contumeliis abſtinerent; nec contrariæ ſententiæ fautores haud alitèr ac malevolos atque invidos inſectari dubitarent. Horum ego intemperantiam etſi aliquantulùm reprimendam eſſe cenſui, ita tamen reprimendam, ut maledicentia ſanè omnis, ſermoniſque aſperitas à noſtrâ prorſus diſceptatione abeſſent; atque ut Viros liberaliter educatos decet, non animorum contentione, ſed opinionum ſolummodò, diſſenſione ad veri inveſtigationem accederemus: quod quidem in illa *mea Diſſertatione* me tam religiosè præſtitiſſe arbitrör, ut ne verbum ibi unum aut contumeliosè aut aſperè nimis dictum inveniri poſſe confidam.

Diſſertationem autem ipſam quod attinet; ea ſane non niſi caſu quodam, atque illo fere, quo rem expoſui, modo, tum primùm inchoata, tum perfecta poſtea ac in lucem emiſſa eſt: nec vereor profecto, ne quis idem mihi illud objiciat, quod *Oppugnatores quidem meos* objeciſſe video; tanquam cauſæ *a me prorsùs alienæ memet ipſe immiſcuiſſem*[a]. Quicquid enim literis mandetur, id omnium plane lectioni & judicio propoſitum ſemper judicavi, & ſi quid potiſſimum *in re literaria* ab hominibus curioſis in controverſia agitatum, atque in medium ſemel projectum eſſet, id ſane ab homine quovis otioſo & literis dedito minime alienum eſſe putavi. Sin autem, quod magis ſuſpicor, quodque fieri plane perſpicio, id mihi potius crimini vertatur, quod clariſſimi *Meadii* ſententiam mihi impugnandam ſuſceperim[b]; id quidem etſi haud parvo meo periculo factum fateor, quod a tanto Viro diſſentire auſus eſſem; attamen ni petulanter aut iracunde id feciſſe arguerer, cum culpa omnino ulla conjunctum eſſe nego; niſi omnes ſimul omnium temporum eruditos eodem crimine condemnemus, qui inter ſe diſcrepare ac contra diſputare, quotieſcunque res poſtularet, nunquam dubitaverint; nec niſi ejuſmodi contentionibus *verum* unquam inveſtigari, literarumve ſtudia vigere omnino, aut radices agere poſſe exiſtimaverint[c].

Iſtud autem meum opuſculum haud citius in publicum prodiit, quam ad me ſtatim perlatum eſt, reſponſi mihi aliquid parari, nonnulloſque ingenio & doctrina præſtantes, qui contra me ſcriberent, meamque ſententiam refellerent, a *Medicis quibuſdam* delectos jam & deſignatos eſſe: quo quidem nuntio tantum abfuit, ut moleſtiæ mihi aliquid crearetur, ut gaudio potius tacito ac voluptate memet inde affectum ſenſerim. Quippe illud, cum omnibus veri tandem inveſtigandi, tum mihi præſertim, haud multum occupato, honeſtam quandam otii conterendi occaſionem præbiturum eſſe putavi: nam mecum ipſe ab initio plane ſtatueram, aut ſententiam meam, a quocunque impugnata fuerit, defendere ac confirmare, aut ſi ob rationum contra adductarum vim id mihi minus liceret, manus ultro dare, meque victum plane ac deceptum libere & publice confiteri.

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[a] Reſp. p. 4. [b] Ib. p. 201. It. Animad. br. p. 42. [c] Cic. Tuſc. qu. 2. 2.

Hac igitur expectatione dum plenus, erectuſque ſtabam; prodiere tandem contra *Diſſertationem meam Notæ quædam breves*, ab Anonymo quodam conſcriptæ; leves illæ quidem & futiles, nec dignæ ſane, quæ alio modo a me tractarentur, ac quo ab omnibus eas tractari intellexi, contemptu ſcilicet & neglectu. Senſi enim illico, illas non iſtud eſſe majorum lucubrationum opus, quo ſententiam meam refutandam atque evertendam nonnulli jactitarant; vidi plane tam debilem impetum tanti belli famæ haud quaquam reſpondere; nec *Notulas iſtas* aliud eſſe reputavi, ac Velites quoſdam, leviſve armaturæ milites, in me ante emiſſos, ut me vexarent aliquantulum atque occupatum tenerent, quoad legiones, quæ armorum pondere lentius progredi cogerentur, ad pugnam adeſſent.

Nec me profecto animus fefellit; quippe ſub *Reſponſionis titulo* in lucem tandem venit, etſi longo ſatis intervallo, diu meditatum opus, vel ipſo aſpectu & magnitudine terribile: utpote *Diſſertatiunculam iſtam meam* vel decies circiter paginarum numero exuperans: quaſi auctor noſter, quod alios nonnunquam factitaſſe accepimus, ipſa libri ſui mole & pondere controverſiam penitus omnem delere atque obruere cogitaſſet. Libro autem ipſo in manus ſtatim arrepto, atque avide ſatis perlecto, haud dici facile poteſt, quàm mira illicò expectationis meæ omnis fruſtratio conſecuta eſt: nam vix tantæ molis librum me antea unquam vidiſſe memini, in quo tam pauca aut obſervatu digna aut lectu jucunda inveniſſem: de me vero omnia non niſi acerbe ac malevole dicta animadverti; & quaſi non de re *prorſus levicula*, ſed de *Religionis ipſius veritate* certamen inſtitutum eſſet; ſingula fere minutatim agitata, exaggerata, atque a meo ſæpe ſenſu detorta vidi; ut Auctor non tam ad cauſam aliquam defendendam, quàm ad me accuſandum *Orator* adhibitus videretur: quamvis enim nomen ille ſuum celaviſſet, ſenſi tamen hominem e *Rhetorum turba* conductum eſſe oportere; cui ſcilicet generi conceſſum novimus, omnia *tragicè ornare*, *augere*, *ementiri*[d]*:* is mihi ſolùm ſcrupulus reſtabat, quòd in ejus quidem ſermone nihil planè, quod *Rhetorem oleret*, nihil venuſtatis, nihil ornatùs, ſed inculta potiùs omnia nec ſatis Latina invenirem.

Hujuſmodi itaque Scriptorem haud magis quam alterum illum (cui neutiquam ſanè eum anteferendum cenſeo) cogitatione ulla mea, aut animadverſione dignum judicaſſem; ni hunc potiſſimùm hominem a *Clariſſimo Meadio* ad hoc *Reſpondendi munus* delectum; librumque ipſum *ejuſdem cura & ſumptibus* in lucem emiſſum; amiciſque ſuis *manu propria inſcriptum & dono a Meadio ipſo miſſum* intellexiſſem. Quibus non dubie ad me perlatis, non nihil ipſe commotus, verituſque ne, præ nimia quadam mei ipſius caritate, haud ſatis rectè de Adverſarii mei meritis ſtatuiſſem, librum ejus relegi; in quo quidem etſi quæſtionem ipſam quod attinet, nihil ferè, ut ante dixi, quod refutatione dignum videretur, inveni; cum tamen memet ubique perindè ac in *Notis iſtis brevibus*, tanquam *Calumniatorem*[e], *Criminatorem*, *Malevolum* tractatum videram; idque *tanti viri* judicio comprobatum, ejuſque juſſu ac opera in publicum evulgatum; illud demum mihi ipſi & exiſtimationi meæ deberi arbitrabar, ut opprobria tam indigna refellerem; oſtenderemque ejuſmodi convitia non eos unquam attingere poſſe, qui nominis & famæ reverentia, tanquam pignoribus datis, adſtricti, ad controverſias literarias deſcendunt; ſed *conductitiis* ſolummodo *ſcriptoribus* iſtis convenire, qui exiſtimationis nullum prorſus aut periculum ſubire, aut jacturam facere poſſunt, ſed tenebris atque obſcuritate tecti in quoſvis ſibi deſignatos, quaſi ex inſidiis impetum faciunt, & quamlibet cauſam defendendam, quemlibet hominem lacerandum mercede pactâ ſuſcipiunt.

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[d] Cic. de Clar. Orat.

[e] Reſp. p. 86, 134, &c.

Hæc dum mecum ipſe meditabar; tertius quidam in publicum prodiit ſub *Animadverſionis brevis*, titulo contra me conſcriptus libellus; quem quidem intellexi ſubito, tum ſtilo, tum Materia conſimili ex *eodem illo Notularum Auctore* profluxiſſe: quippe nihil fere aliud feciſſe *Animadverſor* videtur, ac eadem omnia recoquere, quæ antea diſputarat, ſed nova quadam luce donata, novo ordine diſpoſita, atque ut ei videtur, jocis quibuſdam & ſalibus conditiora. Ego vero, quoniam ſcribendo plane inexpertus homo videtur, hoc ei conſilium dare velim, ut ſeſe poſthac a facetiis abſtineat; hoc, mihi crede, non illi a Natura datum; quam in re omni ducem ſequi oportet: & ſi ex arte ſua victum, laudemve quærere ſtudeat, non ingenii viribus, ſed induſtria penitus & labore rem ei conficiendam video.

In hac vero, quam nunc aggredimur, certatione, propter *Clariſſimi Meadii* nomen atque auctoritatem a me, ut modo dixi, ſuſcepta, ne, ſi alteri reſponderem, alterum vero, nec illum magis quidem indignum, negligerem, injuſtus cuiquam viderer; ſtatui ſane omnibus ſimul, una fere eademque opera reſpondere. Primùm igitur, ut ratione & via quadam procedamus,

damus, *Notas iſtas breves*, quia primæ illæ quidem prodierunt, haud alio plane, ac quo occurrunt, ordine, conſiderare viſum eſt; atque eodem tempore, ſi quæ vel ejuſdem vel conſimilis argumenti in *Reſponſionis Auctore* animadvertero, ea ſimul omnia in unum conferam, atque uno labore abſolvam: deinde ad *Reſponſionis auctorem* me totum convertam, & reliqua omnia, quæ ſibi propria habuerit, ſeparatim perpendam; non immemor interea *Animadverſionis* etiam *brevis*, ſi quid Auctor ejus vel novi, vel notatu digni attulerit; quod rariùs tamen fiet, propterea quod is, ut dixi, haud aliud feciſſe videtur, ac ea, quæ antea dicta eſſent, verbis atque ordine paululum immutatis iterare.

Sed antequam in aciem ipſam deſcendamus, operæ pretium erit, de controverſiæ hujus ſtatu nonnulla breviter præfari, & queſtionem ipſam ita definire, ac limitibus circumſcribere, ut conſtituatur quid & quale ſit id, de quo diſceptamus; quod ni fiat, vagabitur nimis hæc omnis diſputatio, neque certam tandem ullam ſtabilemve ſententiam elicere inde poterimus.

Itaque hoc potiſſimum a lectore animadverſum velim, ea omnia, quæ de *Medicorum Conditione* a me ſunt diſputata, ad eam *Urbis Romæ ætatem*, quæ *Cæſarum temporibus anteceſſit*, referri omnino oportere; hos mihi in *Diſſertatione meâ* controverſiæ hujus terminos conſtitui: per id temporis ſpatium, quòd ſeptingentos circiter annos complectitur, *Medicinam* non niſi a *Peregrinis*, *libertis*, *ſerviſque* penitus adminiſtratam fuiſſe contendo; *Artemque ipſam* tanto in contemptu a *Populo Romano* habitam reperio, ut profeſſio ejus *Civium omnino exiſtimatione indigna* judicaretur; atque eorum adeo ne unum quidem, qui eam unquam attigerit, oſtendi poſſe exiſtimo. Qui verò hanc ſententiam impugnant, ea, quæ de *Medicis Servis* a Veteribus tradita reperiantur, non de *Medicis proprie dictis*, ſed de *Chirurgis*, eiſque ſolummodo, qui inferiores atque operarias Medicinæ partes tractabant, intelligenda prorſus eſſe diſputant: atque hinc alia ſtatim de *Chirurgis* enata quæſtio eſt; videlicet, num iiſdem illis temporibus *Chirurgorum* & *Medicorum* conditio diverſa omnino, aut ab invicem ſejuncta fuerit; numve *Medicæ Artis partitio* ulla tunc temporis facta eſſe appareat. Ego vero, quantum cùm ex Scriptoribus antiquis, tum *Medicis* præſertim noſtrorum temporum eruditiſſimis, qui in hac ipſa cauſa perquirenda quàm maximè elaborarint, inveſtigare ac colligere valuerim; haud ullam *Artis hujus partitionem*, ullamve præſertim *Medicorum & Chirurgorum diſtinctionem* per id omne temporis intervallum fieri reperio; ſed utroſque cum eodem nomine appellari, tum eodem loco & conditione haberi video: quod quidem etſi generatim verum eſſe credo, haud ita tamen verum, quin quod omnibus univerſim enuntiatis accidere ſolet, huic itidem veritati unam alteramve forſitan exceptionem opponi poſſe exiſtimem; neque aliam omnino regulam huic noſtræ quæſtioni conſtitui debere arbitror, ac quam omnibus conſtitutam novimus; videlicet, *res quaſvis ex majori ſemper parte nominari oportere, etiam ſi pars aliqua abeſſet*[f].

Quiſquis igitur hanc meam opinionem ſibi refellendam ſuſcipiet; is primùm terminos huic omni diſputationi poſitos animadvertat & conſideret neceſſe eſt; quæſtionemque ſeſe tractare meminerit, tum loco tum tempore certo definitam & circumſcriptam: nihil attinet in hac cauſa de Medicorum divitiis, honoribus, artiſque dignitate puerorum more & ſine ulla temporum diſtinctione declamare; oſtendat mihi, ſi poterit, *homines aliquot Romanos* in eo temporis ſpatio *Medicæ Artis ſtudio & profeſſione* florentes: oſtendat mihi *Medicos* non nomine modo, ſed conditione atque honore a *Chirurgis diſtin-*

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[f] Cic. Tuſc. qu. 5.

ctos: atque hoc ſi quis fecerit, tum demum redargui memet & confutari plane fatebor.

Sed ad *Annotatorem* jam *noſtrum* deſcendamus; qui etſi literis iſtis M. D. libelli in fronte adſcriptis, ſeſe tanquam *Medicinæ Doctorem* nobis venditare ſperat, mihi tamen haud facile perſuaſerim, homini tam imperito tamque inepto, *Academias haſce noſtras* honorem unquam iſtum detuliſſe: Crederem potius, ſi quam ex ſtylo ejus conjecturam facere liceat, de *Medicorum iſtorum* grege eum eſſe, qui fora circumire, ex pulpitis perorare, laudeſque ſuas, artiſque gloriam ad populum prædicare ſolent. Etenim quid aliud nobis indicare, quidve aliud olere videtur oratio iſta vehemens ac turgida? Quid aliud illæ repetitæ toties ad populum exclamationes? *Jam illa reputate, quæſo, quæ de Aſclepiade, Medico celebri, memoriæ tradita ſunt*[g]*: legatis, quæſo, locum Plinii de quæſtibus Medicorum*[h]*: videte, quam ingentes Medici Romani confecerint pecuniæ ſummas*[i]*: quæſo locum ipſum inſpicite*[k]*:* utcunque vero de hac re ſtatuamus, hoc unum certiſſimum eſt, in *notis hiſce brevibus* vel ingenii vel modeſtiæ ne minimum quidem ſignum reperiri, niſi quod Auctor nomen ſuum tam induſtriè celaverit, quaſi temeritatis atque ignorantiæ ſuæ conſcius.

Ego vero cum *Diſſertationis meæ* initio dixiſſem, *apud veteres Romanos, per prima aliquot ab Urbe conditâ ſecula, medendi Artem, non modo minùs excultam, ſed ne cognitam quidem eſſe, ex monumentorum omnium ſilentio ſuſpicari nos poſſe.* Exclamat illico *Annotator hicce*[l]; *initium ejus, lectores, advertite. De illorum conditione ſcribere virum doctiſſimum videtis, quos ne fuiſſe quidem ſuſpicatur. Inde poteſtis intelligere quanta ſit ejus in ſcri-*

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[g] Not. br. p. 8.
[h] Ib. p. 15.
[i] Ib. p. 16.
[k] p. 17.
[l] p. 4.

bendo diligentia & accuratio. Annon vero, *homo acute*, id ſcriptoris quam maxime diligentis, atque accurati eſt, rem in controverſia agitatam ab ipſis fontibus exquirere, ab ipſis primordiis inveſtigare? Annon de Arte Medica, diſputantis; illa quo primùm tempore cognoſci, quo deinde excoli cœperit, exponere?

Sed *omnino gravius Middletoni erratum*, inquit[m], *extemplo licebit agnoſcere, quo tanquam fundamento nititur univerſum opus.* Quod diſputaram ſcilicet, doctorum perplurium auctoritate, *Medicinam Clinicam & Chirurgicam ab eodem homine* ſemper exerceri, nec *Chirurgos* a cæteris *Medicis* antiquitus unquam diſtingui, quippe ex illa de *Medicorum Conditione* diſputatione, aliam, ut ſupra dixi, tanquam e radice enatam vidimus de *Medicinæ partitione* quæſtionem, quam alii certe omnes prioris ejus *appendicem*, ſeu *conſequens* quoddam dicerent, noſter autem hicce *fundamentum* ubique appellat. *Itaque labefactato*, inquit, *ipſius fundamento corruit totum opus*[n]. Sed fundamentorum hicce everſor, videamus jam, quemadmodum opinionem meam refutet.

Et quoniam in hanc diſputationis partem, etſi loco quidem haud ſatis idoneo, incidimus, ne eadem ſæpiùs iterando lectori moleſtus eſſem, huc etiam illa quoque, quæ de eadem re *Reſponſionis Auctor* diſputaverit, conferre viſum eſt; præſertim cum communia fere inter ſe omnia utroſque habere video. Primùm enim utrique ſe *unico Corn. Celſi loco* cauſam hanc omnem expedire, remque conficere poſſe cenſent; quo ſcilicet loco *Celſus* de *Medicinæ partitione, tanquam ſuo tempore Romæ uſitatâ, loqui videtur*[o]. At in omni quæſtione dijudicandâ, quæ certi cujuſdam temporis limitibus continetur, id omnino ſpectandum eſt; non tantum quid de re ipſa in controverſia poſita Auctores tradant, ſed ad quæ potiſſimum tempora eorum verba referri debeant: de *Celſi* autem tempore nihil prorſus *Annotator noſter* attulit; at *Tiberii ætate* eum floruiſſe *Reſponſionis Auctor* dicit[p], de quo tamen inter Auctores haud ſatis conſtare credo; convenit ſolummodo inter omnes eum *Cæſarum temporibus* vixiſſe; quod cum ita ſit, cumque *Celſus* præſertim hoc ipſo loco a Viris eruditis adducto *Medicinæ diviſionem*, utcunque apud alias gentes diù invaluiſſet, at *Romæ* tamen nonniſi ſuo tempore *recentem nec diu uſitatam* indicare plane videtur[q]; hoc ejus teſtimonium, utcunque *luculentulum* atque *opportunum* viris hiſce videatur, haud quicquam tamen contra meam ſententiam probare, nec cauſam fere ipſam attingere ab aliis certe omnibus judicabitur.

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[m] pag. 4. [n] p. 13. [o] Not. br. p. 6. it. Reſpon. p. 179.

Ego vero, ut quivis facilè conjiciet, haud *Celſi* omnia perlegiſſe præ me fero; mihi ſatis eſſe duco, quòd de *Medicis ipſis* doctiſſimos quoſque ſententiæ meæ auctores habeam, quodque eos omnes, qui in veterum ſcriptis evolvendis quam diligentiſſimè fuerint verſati, eadem hæc omnia de *Medicinæ diviſione* credidiſſe ſemper & diſputaſſe reperiam: *Clericuſque* ille potiſſimùm, qui *totius Artis hiſtoriam* contexuit, quique non unum alterumve *Celſi* locum, ſed omnes ejus libros ad hoc ipſum inveſtigandum perſcrutatus eſt, ſeſe tamen dubitare planè fatetur, an *Medicæ Artis partitio Celſi adhuc ætate re vera facta & in uſu omnino Romæ fuerit.*

Hoc autem in loco *Reſponſionis Auctor* mirum ſane nobis tum ingenii, tum modeſtiæ ſuæ ſpecimen præbet, qui mihi, uti alias ſæpe videbimus, *Clerici* locum iſtum corrumpendi atque ad ſenſus meos detorquendi crimen objicit; quippe *Clericum* non modo *de Medicinæ partitione iſtâ nihil dubitare*, ſed *contrarium planè* ex ejus verbis colligi poſſe fidenter atque apertè affirmat[r]. Ego vero contra; nullam mihi fidem nec in hac, nec alia quâvis causâ habendam poſco, ni ex *Clerici* tum verbis tum ſententiâ illud ipſum, quod dixeram, ſignificari penitus appareat. *Clericus* enim, poſtquam ex *Celſi* verbis, ſenſuque, *Medicinæ in tres partes diviſionem* explicuiſſet, ita denique concludit: *Soit que la choſe ſe pratiquât effectivement ainſi de ſon temps; ſoit qu'il ait voulu ſimplement marquer comme elle devoit aller*[s]. Quod ita quidem vertere licet; *ſive tamen Celſi ætate partitio iſta reverà ita in uſu fuerit; ſive id tantummodo in animo Celſus habuerit, ut ſignificaret, quemadmodum ea fieri debuiſſet*, atque hanc, ut memini, dubitationis ſuæ rationem *Clericus* adjungit, quòd eam adhuc conſuetudinem, vel *poſt Celſum*, in uſu manſiſſe invenerat, ut omnes ſimul *Medicinæ* partes a *ſingulis Medicis* unà exercerentur. Itaque ſi *Celſi auctoritas* in hac quæſtione aut nihil, aut parum valere poterit; multo certe minus Galenus, quem poſterius vixiſſe novimus, quemque alterum ſententiæ ſuæ auctorem noſter hicce adducit ad hanc omnino cauſam advocandus erit: quod quidem videre, & concedere plane *Reſponſionis Auctorem* ſentio[t]. Galeni igitur teſtimonio contra opinionem meam prolato, nihil opus eſt, ut quicquam prorſus reſpondeam.

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[p] Reſp. p. 162. [q] Ac Romæ quoque non mediocres Profeſſores, maximeque nuper Tryphon, &c.

Pergit autem oſtendere Vir acutus, quam *opinioni ipſe adverſer meæ*[u], qui *Archagathum illum*, quem primùm Medicinæ exercendæ causâ Romam veniſſe legimus, *Chirurgum* fuiſſe confitear. Ego verò quidni *Archagathum Chirurgum* appellem, qui non eum ſolum, ſed *Medicos etiam omnes*, quotquot *Romæ* deinceps vel aliquot poſt ſeculis artem ſuam exercuerint, *Chirurgos* fuiſſe, omneſque ſimul Medicinæ partes ſemper tractaſſe contendo, multiſque exemplis probavi: quodque *Archagathus* iſte vulnera curaſſe dicitur, id ſententiam meam non evertere certè, ſed confirmare potius judicabitur; niſi ex priori, ut aiunt, eſſet demonſtratum, eos, qui *Chirurgicam Medicinæ partem* tractare ſolerent, nullam unquam aliam omnino attigiſſe.

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[r] Reſp. p. 190.

[s] Vid. Reſp. p. 191.

[t] Reſp. p. 185.

[u] Not. br. p. 8.

Sed idem hocce de *Archagatho* argumentum pluribus etiam perſequitur *Reſponſionis Auctor*; dicitque ſibi perſpicuum videri, eum *nil niſi Chirurgiam* exercuiſſe, propterea quod a *Plinio vulnerarius* appelletur[w]: quaſi nomen iſtud non idcirco adipiſci potuiſſet, quod *vulnerum præcipue curationi* ſeſe applicuiſſet, quodque eis magis quàm *morbis medendis* peritus ac expertus habebatur; utpote qui partem eam, in *Urbe* ſcilicet *bellicosâ*, reliquis forſitan pluris æſtimari obſervaſſet. Cum vero propter *Archagathi* hujus in vulneribus curandis ſævitiam, & *artem ipſam & omnes medicos in tædium cito tranſiiſſe* diſcimus; cauſam ſane nullam, quamobrem id fieret, videre queo; ni illis quoque temporibus *cæteri* etiam *Medici* eodem planè modo artem ſuam exercuiſſent & quod *Archagathum* feciſſe contendo, *reliquas ſimul Medicinæ partes unà* cum *Chirurgicâ* omnes adminiſtraſſent.

At *Aſclepiadem* denique *Medicum*, *Pompeii ætate* celeberrimum *Chirurgiam* omnino non attigiſſe *Annotator noſter* affirmat; *idque librorum*[x] *ejus inſcriptionibus* declarari ait; propterea quod inter opera ejus, quorum tituli ſolummodo aliquot nobis jam reſtant, nihil omnino *de Chirurgia* ab eo ſcripti memoriæ proditur : atque hoc idem à *Reſponſionis quoque Auctore* diſputatum videmus[y]. Præclarum ſane Argumentum! quod vix alius, præter *hoc eruditorum par nobile*, excogitare unquam potuiſſet: *Aſclepiades nihil de re Chirurgica aut ſcripti reliquit, aut quod reliquiſſet, periit*; *ergo Chirurgiam non omnino attigit.* Sed non vident Viri ingenioſi, *Aſclepiadem* dum *Chirurgum* fuiſſe negant, at *Pharmacopolam* ſaltem fuiſſe, eodem illo Argumento concedant neceſſe eſt; ſcilicet quod de *medicamentorum compoſitione* eum ſcripſiſſefateantur. *Aſclepiades* vero ipſe, cum *in Anginis curandis* novam quandam curandi rationem inſtituiſſe traditur[z], a *Chirurgica artis parte* non omnino manus abſtinuiſſe videtur.

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[w] Reſp. p. 182.

[x] Not. br. p. 10.

Annotator autem *noſter* tanquam rem omnino claram, certamque eſſe demonſtraſſet, hanc tandem concluſionem ex præmiſſis iſtis elicit: *Ergo fuit*, inquit[a], *Romæ Aſclepiades Medicus Clinicus*, nec *Chirurgiam omnino attingens*; *Archagathus vero Chirurgus*, nec *reliquam Medicinam tractans*; etiam *ante Imperatorum tempora.* Ego vero ſi hiſce ineptiis quicquam ſerio reſpondere aggrederer, memet ſane, vel hominibus hiſce ipſis inſipientiorem cenſeri deberi judicarem.

Sed ad reliqua convellenda homo progreditur; & *neque minus*, inquit, *id Middletoni erratum eſt*, *ubi ex Mercurialis auctoritate*, *omnes Medicos uſque ad Galeni tempora*, *ſua medicamenta paraſſe ait*[b]. Ubi candoris, æquitatiſquc ejus ſpecimen obiter notare libet; non contentus enim meos omnes errores inſectari, aliorum mihi errata imputat; & cum *Mercurialis*, viri eruditiſſimi

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[y] Reſp. p. 197.

[z] Plin. Hiſt. Not. l. 26. 3.

[a] Not. br. p. 10.

[b] Not. br. p. 12.

I verba,

verba, ſententiamque exhibuiſſem, non minus me erràſſe dicit, quàm ſi ex meipſo eſſem locutus, meoſque penitus ſenſus protuliſſem. *Mercurialem* verò *Plinii* ipſe teſtimonio refellere conatur[c], quo loco *Plinius Medicos* quidem ſeverè reprehendit, quod a *Medicaminibus conficiendis, quod proprium eſſe Medicinæ ſolebat*, *ſeſe abſtinere cœpiſſent*, & *præ medicamentorum ignorantia, quorum vel nomina pars major ignorabat*, *ab aliis emplaſtra & collyria mercari coacti eſſent*. Hæc autem verba haud ſatis attendit *Vir doctus*, quàm contra ſuam ipſius diſputationem faciant, dum probant *Medicos* vel iis temporibus *Chirurgorum* munere aliquo fungi, atque *emplaſtra* & *collyria*, utcunque ab aliis facta & parata, ſuis tamen manibus tractare, atque ad uſus deſtinatos applicare ſolere. Cum autem *Plinius* ipſe *Galenum* haud longè ætate anteceſſit; hæc ejus verba *Mercurialis* itidem opinionem confirmare potius quàm evertere videntur, præſertim, ſi ut omnia generatim dicta intelligi debent, eam non nimis ſeverè ac reſtrictè accipiamus: quod quidem a *Reſponſionis* etiam *Auctore* conceſſum planè animadverto[d].

Antequam vero hanc de *Medicinæ partitione* diſputationem concludamus; ego ſanè, qui nec in hac, nec in aliâ quâvis quæſtione aliud mihi propoſitum habeam, ac quod verum, aut veri ſaltem ſimillimum ſit, inveſtigare, nequeo hic diſſimulare, *Reſponſionis* illum, atque *Animadverſionis brevis* Auctorem, locum quendam *Ciceronis* adduxiſſe, qui ad cauſam ſuam haud parum valere videtur[e]: quod idem ſane alias etiam, nec minus quidem liberè faterer, ſi quid apud eos ſolidi unquam aut probabilis inveniſſem. Atque hunc ipſum locum ego quidem poſt *Diſſertationem* meam editam obſervaram, cumque amicis communicaram; quo ſcilicet indicare *Cicero* videtur, *medendi artem* vel *ſua ætate* in *diverſas partes* diſtribui, *ſingulaſque a ſingulis* interdum adminiſtrari ſolere: quod quidem etſi non ſatis perſpicuum ſit, utrum de *Medicina*, uti tunc *in Græcia*, an uti *Romæ* exercebatur, accipiendum ſit; conceſſo, tamen ad *Medicos* potius *Romæ degentes* id pertinere; at non inde tamen ſequitur morem illum *universè* ac *generatim* tunc obtinuiſſe, ſed aliquatenus ſolummodo proceſſiſſe; quod tum ex eis, quæ in *Diſſertatione mea* dixeram, tum innumeris aliis Auctorum veterum locis probari facile poterit.

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[c] p. 13.

[d] Reſp. p. 187.

[e] Reſp. p. 182. it. Animad. br. p. 39. verba Ciceronis hæc ſunt. Tum Craſſus, Non in hac, inquit, una re, Catule, ſed in aliis etiam compluribus, diſtributione partium, ac ſeparatione, magnitudines ſunt artium diminutæ. An Tu exiſtimas, cum eſſet Hippocrates ille Cous, fuiſſe tum alios Medicos, qui morbis; alios qui vulneribus: alios qui oculis mederentur? De Orat. l. 3. 33.

Quod autem magis ad rem noſtram eſt; ex hoc eodem loco videre poſſumus, quàm longe aliter *Cicero* de vera *Medicorum* laude ac præſtantiâ, ac illi, quibuſcum rem habemus, judicaverit: *noſtri* enim *Medicorum propugnatores* eos tantum *ſervilis*[f] atque *abjectæ ſortis* fuiſſe aſſerunt, qui *omnes ſimul medicinæ partes, morborum* ſcilicet *vulnerumque* curationes una profiterentur[g]; *Inſignes autem viros, ac arte celebratos uni tantùm parti ſe totos addixiſſe*——itaque *Clinicum* ſolummodo *Medicum* fabulæ ſuæ *Heroem* conſtituunt; eum ſolum & virum magnum & *Medici nomine* dignum judicant: ſiquis vero *Chirurgiam* vel digito attigerit: de *Medicorum* ſtatim claſſe ac profeſſione dejiciunt. At *Ciceronem* contra, quàm longe diverſa & contraria plane omnia de Medicorum dignitate ſenſiſſe videmus? qui *hac medicinæ partitione* artem ipſam diſcerptam, ejuſque *laudem* & *magnitudinem imminutam* indicat; nec ſe eos in *medicis magnis* atque *excellentibus* numerare oſtendit, qui vel *morborum* vel *vulnerum medicinam ſeparatim* atque *unicè* profiterentur, ſed qui, *Hippocratis exemplo, nullam medicinæ partem* negligentes, aliiſve ſigillatim exercendam relinquentes, *univerſam ſimul artem* complexi atque unà profeſſi fuerint: cumque hæc ab eo dici cernimus, qui eodem illo libro *Aſclepiadem,* uti *Medicum eximium* atque *amicum ſuum* laudaverit; nonne veriſimile inde videtur *Aſclepiadem ipſum* de eorum numero eſſe, qui non *excerptam aliquam medicinæ partem,* ſed qui *univerſam* eſſent profeſſi.

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[f] Reſp. p. 193.

[g] Ib. p. 222.

Utcunque vero *Medicorum & Chirurgorum* disjuncta & propria fuiſſe munera confiteamur, (quod tamen non generatim verum eſſe certiſſimum eſt) nullo tamen modo ſequitur, *diverſas* proptereà eorum *conditiones,* aut *vitæ ſortes* fuiſſe; ſed in eo ſaltem temporis ſpatio, intra quod hanc noſtram diſputationem concluſimus, ejuſdem certe loci atque ordinis utroſque ſemper habitos eſſe apparet; ni in *Urbe,* ut ſupra dixi, *bellicoſa* veriſimile magis videatur, *Chirurgos* ſeu *vulnerum medicos* majori potius in pretio fuiſſe: ex omnibus enim *Romanorum Veterum Medicis* duos potiſſimum Auctores noſtri ſecernunt, quos *veros* ac *Germanos Chirurgos* fuiſſe affirmant, *Archagathum,* atque *Alcontem*; eum, quod *Vulnerarius*; hunc, quod *vulnerum Medicus* dicitur[h]: quorum alteri tantos ſane honores, quantos nulli unquam *Medico, ante Cæſarum ætatem,* habitos cognovimus; *Civitatem datam, tabernamque publice emptam:* Alter vero, ſub *Claudio Imperatore,* in eorum numero a *Plinio* celebratur, qui maximos atque incredibiles fere quæſtus ex arte ſua confeciſſent. Habeant igitur homines noſtri, ſi velint, quod tantopere contendunt, *iſtos* ſcilicet *duos, vere ac proprie Chirurgos* fuiſſe; hoc tamen nobis concedere neceſſe erit, eos, ſi non majori, at pari ſaltem cum *cæteris Medicis* honore fuiſſe.

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[h] Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 29. 1.

Sed de *Medicæ artis partitione* jam ſatis dictum opinor; ad ea igitur pergamus, quæ de ipſa Quæſtionis ſumma, de *ſervili* ſcilicet *Medicorum conditione Annotator hicce* diſputat. Atque hic conqueri eum graviter, meque inſimulare video; quod *Medicos malitiosè deprimere ſtuderem*[i]; quod, *ſiquid in eos congerere poſſem, de veritate non eſſem ſollicitus*[k]. Quod, *quæ de humillimas Medicinæ partes tractantibus dicta uſquam reperiſſem, in univerſos artis Profeſſores tranſtuliſſem*[l]: quòd, *ea de Medicis generatim aſſeruiſſem*, quæ[m] *non de Medicis Clinicis, nec Chirurgis quidem bonis, ſed de Phlebotomis ſolummodo, Auriculariis, Herniariis, reunctoribus, enematumvè adminiſtratoribus* intelligi debere contendit.

Ego verò contra; etſi de *Medicis Veteribus* alios aliis longe præſtitiſſe ſciam: Utque inter *Annotatorem*, qui *Medicinæ ſeſe Doctorem* jactitat, ſcriptis verò Artem dedecorat, *Principeſque illos viros*, qui non *Arti ſuæ* ſolummodo, ſed *genti* etiam *toti* ſcriptis ſuis gloriam afferunt, immane quiddam diſcrepare videmus; ita *Romæ* quoque nonnullos olim tum ſcientiâ, tum famâ, magnorumque familiaritate cæteris omnibus antecelluiſſe neceſſe eſt: hos tamen univerſos, cùm doctos, tùm indoctos, cùm ſummos, tùm infimos, abſque ullâ exceptione, *Græcos* certè aut *Peregrinos*, ſed maximam longè partem *Servos & Libertos* fuiſſe, affirmare haud dubitaverim.

Etenim num omnino cuiquam credibile videri poteſt, magnos illos *Reipublicæ Romanæ Principes*, quos *Medicos Servos* in familiis ſuis ſemper habuiſſe cognovimus, non *Artis peritiſſimos quoſque* ex Aſiâ, Græciâve conquiſiviſſe, ſed *Auricularium* ſolummodo, vel *reunctorem* aliquem domi apud ſe tenuiſſe? Num *Conſules* ac *Imperatores*, quos *Medicos Servos* ſecum ſemper in provincias eduxiſſe legimus, *Phlebotomo* alicui vel *Unguentario* valetudinem ſuam commiſiſſe putandum eſt? Num denique veriſimile eſt, *Cæſarem Auguſtum*, cum *Germanico* in acie militanti *Medicum Servum unà cum C. Caligula* tunc infantulo mitteret, *enematum* ſolummndo *adminiſtratorem*, annon *Medicum* potius gravem, fide & ſcientiâ præſtantem, de *Servis ſuis* miſiſſe? De hoc ſane neminem præter hunc Annotatorem dubitare poſſe certò ſcio.

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[i] Not. br. p. 23.
[k] Ib. 13.
[l] Ib. 14.
[m] Ib. 17.

Ille vero huic meæ diſputationi *Aſclepiadis Medici* famam & dignitatem opponit. *Reputate, quæſo*, inquit, *quantus vir fuit Aſclepiades*[n] *quantam apud ſummos viros auctoritatem ſit conſecutus; adeo ut non gravaretur ille Romanæ eloquentiæ Princeps Cicero, cum, ut amicum ſuum concelebrare. Qui quidem honos ſummus haberi poſſet; ni major etiam ipſi contigiſſet: etenim a Mithridate, maximo Rege ſolicitatus eſt, ut ad illum veniret.* En verò alterum hominis ſpecimen! qui *Ciceronis* amicitiæ & familiaritati, lucrum, ſtipendiumque a *Rege barbaro* oblatum honore anteponit. Sed *Aſclepiadem* longè aliter ſenſiſſe videmus, qui maluit, in illa Urbis luce, laude & gratia apud *Optimates*, quàm apud *Mithridatem* opibus florere. *Aſclepiadis* autem hujus honores, utcunque magnos eos fuiſſe concedamus, ad hanc tamen cauſam nequaquam pertinere contendo: de ejus enim conditione nihil fere memoriæ traditum habemus, niſi quòd *e leviſſima gente, & ſine ullis opibus, ex Rhetore Medicus evaſerit*[o]: & quantuſcunque demum fuerit, nec nominis famâ, nec honoribus, vitæque ſplendore cum *Antonio Muſa* conferendum exiſtimo: quem tamen *ſervum* fuiſſe cognoſcimus; atque *Aſclepiadem*

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[n] Not. br. p. 8, 9.

[o] Plin. Hiſt. Not. l. 26. 3.

dem igitur niſi *hominem Romanum*, niſi non *ſervum*, nec *Græcum* fuiſſe *Auctor noſter* probaverit, nihil omnino contra meam ſententiam diſputare a viris doctis cenſebitur.

Neque illa minùs futilia, minuſve ab hac omni quæſtione aliena, quæ de *Artis Medicæ fructu* olim ingenti, *opibuſque Profeſſorum* homo eruditus diſſerit. *Legatis quæſo*, inquit, *locum Plinii de quæſtubus medicorum*[p]*:* quaſi de *divitiis*, & non de *conditione Medicorum* diſputatio noſtra inſtituta eſſet: nos autem, ut ait *Cicero*[q], *neque divitiæ movent, quibus omnes Africanos & Lælios multi Venalitii & Mercatores ſuperarunt.* Sed noſter hicce cum *Medicos ſuos divites* fuiſſe oſtenderit, omnia ſe probaſſe putat; nec ſcire planè videtur, quod *Romæ* ſæpiſſime contigiſſe legimus, magnorum ſcilicet Virorum tum *Libertos*, tum *Servos*, qui apud Dominos ſuos gratiâ florerent, ingentes ſibi opes ac poteſtatem adipiſci ſolere: quorum nonnullis *vel Prætoria interdum Ornamenta decerni legimus; tantùmque non cum laureatis faſcibus remitti illo, unde cretatis pedibus adveniſſent*[r]; De quo quidem argumento, librum me alicubi vidiſſe memini, de *eis* ſcilicet *Servis* conſcriptum; qui ſummam ſibi auctoritatem, immenſaſque divitias ex *Servitute* confeciſſe a Veteribus memorantur, *Pliniuſque*, in celebri illâ ad *Trajanum Oratione*, non dubitat dicere, *Imperatores ipſos, cum eſſent Civium domini, libertorum tamen fuiſſe ſervos.* Quid igitur, Vir ingenioſe, de his tantis Viris conſtituendum putas? Annon in *Servorum & Libertorum* propterea grege numerandos cenſes, quod gratia, opibus, auctoritate eos floruiſſe accepimus? Numve eadem planè omnia de *Divite tuo* cogitas, quæ *Stoici de Sapiente ſuo* jactitant, eum videlicet vel ex *infima ſorte Nobilem*; vel *in Servitute Liberum* eſſe.

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[p] Not. br. p. 15.

[q] Orator.

[r] Plin. Hiſt. Not. l. 35. 18.

Vides jam opinor, aut ſi tu quidem minùs, at alii certe omnes vident *Notarum tuarum* futilitatem: Ego *Medicos Romæ degentes*, præſertim *ante Cæſarum ætatem*, aut *Servos* aut *Libertos*, aut *Peregrinos* ſaltem omnes fuiſſe diſputo. Tu verò, qui *fundamenta mea* labefactas, qui me *Calumniatorem* appellas, quid tandem contra affers? at contra *legatis quæſo*, inquis, *locum Plinii de quæſtubus Medicorum*. Nihil ſcilicet aliud oſtendere conaris, ac *Medicorum* nonnullos *Artis famâ* floruiſſe, *magnos quæſtus* feciſſe, *Optimatibus caros* fuiſſe, idque non niſi *Cæſarum temporibus*; quæ tibi omnia, abſque ullo cauſæ meæ detrimento, lubens concedere poſſum.

Sed commoveri jam atque iraſci planè hominem video, quòd *Sexaginta Solidos* pretium olim fuiſſe *Medicis ſervis à jure Civili* conſtitutum obſervaſſem: exclamat illicò, *an vobis hoc credibile eſt*[f]*? an quemquam ex Romanis creditis tam amentem fore, ut tantum hominem tam parvo pretio venderet?* credere ſcilicet videtur *Vir doctus*, atque *Antiquitatis tantopere intelligens*, me de *noſtris* omnino *ſolidis* eſſe locutum; clauſulamque illam, quam in Syngraphis adjungi viderat, hic quoque ſubintelligi debere exiſtimat; videlicet, *bonæ & legalis monetæ Angliæ*——Ut verò hanc ei moleſtiam aliquatenùs minuam, nec tàm acerbè poſthac ferat *Artis ſuæ profeſſores* tantulo olim veniſſe; ſcire eum velim quicquid de *ſolidis iſtis* dixeram, de *Romanis prorſus ſolidis* eſſe intelligendum; quorum ſingulos, ut nonnulli, atque optimi illi quidem Auctores, tradunt, *Sexdecim* circiter de noſtris pretio æquaſſe reperio[t].

At majores adhuc *Medicus noſter* clamores ciet, proptereà quod *Medicinæ profeſſionem Civis Romani gravitate ſeu exiſtimatione*

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[f] Not. br. p. 16.

[t] Vid. *Arbuthnot* of Coins, &c. p. 163.

indignam, Plinio Auctore[u] *aſſeruiſſem. Quippe id,* inquit, *à ſolo Middletono apud Plinium legitur*[w]. *De indignitate autem Artis, apud Plinium nè verbum quidem ullum eſt; ſed eam vocem* INDIGNAM *ad Plinii verba à bono Theologo adtextam videtis, quo vobis fucum faceret.* Atque eadem ferè omnia de hoc *Plinii* loco poſt *Annotatorem noſtrum* iterat egregius iſte *Reſponſionis Auctor*; miraturque *Middletonum curam attentiorem in Scriptis Veterum citandis atque explicandis non adhibuiſſe. Non enim,* inquit[x], *dicit Plinius (ut ille nobis perſuadere ſtudet) medendi Artem Romanos gravitate ſuâ indignam judicaſſe; nec qui eam attigerint, tanquam ad Græcos transfugas fuiſſe habitos. Neque vox* indignam *hic legitur, neque Voces, ad* Græcos transfugæ, *eo ſenſu dicuntur quem is confingit.* Quantum in utriſque conſenſum, quantam in me criminando concordiam videmus? Ego vero tantorum virorum conjunctos ſimul impetus haud unquam ſuſtinere potero. Itane vero *Viri ingenioſi?* nihilne dicitis de *Medicinæ indignitate* apud *Plinium* reperiri? Quid igitur ſtatuendum putatis, non dicam de *bono Theologo*, ſed de *bonis iſtis Medicis*[y], qui Artis ſuæ defenſionem *contra Plinium ipſum* ſuſceperunt; qui de *Artis,* inquam, *dignitate* libros aliquot contra Plinium ſcripſerunt? annon illos eadem omnia, ac *Middletonum, de Artis indignitate* apud eum legiſſe creditis? An eos quoque *voces finxiſſe* dicetis? Numve Vos tandem ſoli, *tales ſtulti, bardique* (ut *Annotatoris* verbis utar) reperiemini, ut quod alii omnes facilè vident, nec videre nec intelligere poteritis? Sed exclametis licet, quantùm volueritis; Ego contra contendo atque affirmo, *Plinium* hoc ipſo in loco aſſerere, *Romanos* propterea *medendi Artem* neglexiſſe, nec ad eam exercendam ullo quæſtu allici potuiſſe, quod *gravitate ſua indignam* eam judicarint: pauciſſimoſque illos qui *Plinii tandem ætate* ad eadem ſeſe applicuiſſent, ad *Græcos tranſfugere,* id eſt, à *Græcis hominibus* artis præcepta petere, & vel *Græcè* loqui, ſcribere, præſcriptaque Medica tradere fuiſſe coactos: quippe cum *Romæ* ab ipſis Artis primordiis, *Medicinæ omnis adminiſtratio* non niſi *Græcorum in manibus* verſata eſſet; nulla planè Auctoritas aliter ac *Græcè eam tractantibus* etiam apud imperitos erat.

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[u] Solam hanc Græcarum Artium nondum exercet Romana Gravitas in tanto fructu. Pauciſſimi Quiritium attigere, & ipſi ſtatim ad Græcos transfugæ: imo vero auctoritas aliter quàm Græcè eam tractantibus etiam apud imperitos experteſque linguæ non eſt. Plin. Hiſt. l. 29. 1.

[w] Not. br. p. 18.

[x] Reſp. p. 49.

[y] Jo. Fileſacus. Medicinæ defenſio adverſus Plinium majorem 8vo. Par. 1618. it. G. Kirſtenius de Medicinæ dignitate contra Plinium & Platonem 4to Stetini 1647.

Romanos *autem homines* artium certè *Græcarum,* quàm maximè cupidos, atque avidos planè fuiſſe cognovimus; & quicquid *Græcia* habuerit quod *omnino expetendum eſſet, id ſtudio & induſtria ſua ad ſe ſtatim tranſtuliſſe*[z]*:* eoque præterea ingenio fuiſſe; ut omnia *conſequi potuiſſent, ut primum velle cæpiſſent*; nec conſequi ſolummodo: ſed à *Græcis ipſis accepta vel meliora etiam & perfectiora facere ſolere, ſiquæ,* ut ait *Cicero*[a], *digna ſtatuiſſent in quibus elaborarent.* Itaque cum ex omnibus *Græcorum Artibus, Medicinam ſolam* eos neglexiſſe cernimus; quam aliam cauſam probabilem, vel omnino ullam excogitare aut fingere poſſumus, niſi quod *Civibus ſuis* nec *expetendam* nec *gravitate ſua dignam* judicarint; quod *Plinius* profecto hoc ipſo in loco verbis nullo modo dubiis aut obſcuris declarat, cum dicat, *Hanc ſolam Artium Græcarum Romanam gravitatem vel tanto in fructu nunquam attigiſſe.* Itaque vox illa INDIGNAM quam Vos tantopere ſtomachamini, etſi in *Plinii* quidem verbis non reperiatur, ad ſententiam tamen conſtituendam neceſſario requiritur: neque de voculis ego Auctorum, ſed de ſenſibus omnino diſputandum eſſe cenſeo: veſtramque loci hujus interpretationem, nec *Plinii* mentem attingere nec ſenſum plane ullum continere dico. Quod dicit autem *Reſponſionis Auctor* voces eas, *ad Græcos Transfugæ*, non eo ſenſu accipi debere, quem ego confinxeram; ego ſane quid ſibi velit, non intelligo; niſi quòd calumniandi occaſionem, cum nulla prorſus fuerit oblata, arripere ſtudeat; quippe ego *vocibus iſtis* nullam omnino interpretationem ſenſumve meum dederam, ſed nudas eas ſolummodo, ut in *Plinio* legantur, protuleram.

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[z] Cic. Tuſc. q. 2. 2.

[a] Ib. 1. 1. it. Ib. 4. 2.

Atqui ad unicum jam libelli hujus locum devenimus, quo me cum aliquâ veritatis ſpecie aut ratione probabili premere atque urgere *Annotator* videtur: ſcilicet quod *Suetonii* locum quendam ad cauſam meam detorſiſſem, & tum verba, tum ſenſus, aliter ac in Auctore eo reperiuntur, dediſſem; quod an *incuriæ* ſeu *malitiæ potiùs meæ* tribuendum ſit, poſtquam pauliſper dubitaverit, *malitiæ* ſtatim & *illi ſummæ* quidem aſſignat; *meque falſitatè aperta incautos circumvenire in animo habuiſſe* inſimulat[b]. Quis autem, præter *Medicaſtrum huncce*, *malitiæ exercendæ* cauſam, aut locum quidem ullum hac in re invenire potuiſſet? etenim hoc *Suetonii teſtimonium* ſi de *Diſſertatione mea* penitùs tolleretur, num claudicaret ideo quæſtio noſtra? numve detrimenti omnino quicquam caperet? quid ſi hoc in loco *Medicos* in *Peregrinis* & non in *Servitiis* numerari fatendum ſit? id num *Annotatoris cauſæ* omnino inſervit? num meam debilitat; qui *Medicos*, partim *Servos*, partim *Libertos*, omnes tamen *Peregrinos* fuiſſe diſputo? Si ex his, inquam, verbis *Medicos* de *Servorum grege* fuiſſe minùs probetur; nonne ex aliis permultis *ejuſdem Suetonii* locis *Servos eos fuiſſe* aperte demonſtratur? itaque fatui plane hominis fuiſſet, malitiam ibi adhibere, ubi detecta infamiam certam inureret, celata vero nihil prorſus ad controverſiæ ſummam conferret. Sicut autem *a malitiæ*, ita vellem ſanè ab *incuriæ* & *negligentiæ* crimine memet æque defendere poſſem: ſed ut fatear planè quod res eſt; cum duos ad eandem rem Auctores in *Commentariolis notatos* haberem; unum quidem, qui totidem planè verbis id quod poſueram, ſignificaret; alterum vero, qui eidem aliquo modo favere, atque ex parte declarare videretur; quemque idcirco notaram, nec verba tamen ejus deſcripſeram; præ nimiâ tandem feſtinatione & negligentiâ Auctores ipſos adire omittens, nec pluribus in re unâ teſtibus opus eſſe putans, eum quem minùs oportuit, *Suetonium* ſcilicet *Oroſii loco* ad cauſam meam adhibui: quod *Reſponſionis* quidem *Auctor*, mihi licet aliàs haud ſatis æquus, hoc tamen in loco fieri neceſſe eſſe agnoſcit[c]. Id vero in re tam apertâ, tamque parum ad controverſiæ ſummam pertinente, an *incuriæ* ſeu *malitiæ* potiùs tribuendum ſit, haud opus eſt pluribus oſtendere: illud tantummodo dicam; quod etſi plures etiam hujuſmodi errores in *Scriptorum verbis exponendis Auctores noſtri* aliàs ſæpe, idque ſatis fidenter mihi objiciant, illos tamen, quoties exemplis rem illuſtrare aggredientur, inſcitiæ toties ſuæ aut malitiæ Argumenta præbituros.

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[b] Not. br. p. 19.

Annotator autem *noſter*, tanquam cauſam jam omnem expediiſſet, controverſiamque penitùs abſolviſſet; *Minimi*, inquit, *momenti ſunt reliqua, quæ a Middletono prolata ſunt*, &c.[d] & *permulta talia ſunt, quæ vos ipſi nè quidem digna refutatione cenſebitis*[e]. At nullius igitur ponderis eſſe credis, tot illa Scriptorum veterum teſtimonia, quæ *Medicos Romæ degentes*, *Servos* maximam partem fuiſſe clare atque aperte declarant? num minimi momenti eſſe, nec refutatione quidem digna putas, tot illa *genuinæ*

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[c] Reſp. p. 81.

[d] Not. br. p. 19.

[e] Ib. p. 23.

vetuſtatis monumenta, tot *antiquas inſcriptiones,* quæ plurima nobis *Medicorum Servorum* nomina ad hæc uſque tempora conſervant? numve illa omnia minus propterea Auctoritatis apud lectores habitura exiſtimas, quod ad ea Tu ne verbum quidem unum reſpondere fueris dignatus?

Pergit tamen more ſuo, *Vir egregius, ad aliam,* uti ait[f], *Middletoni calumniam refellendam, qui negat, Medicinam inter liberales artes apud Romanos haberi:* ad *Middletonum* igitur redarguendum loca quædam *è Jure Civili* profert, quæ probant, non id quidem ullo modo quod oportuit, *Medicinam* ſcilicet *in Artibus Liberalibus* numerari; ſed illud ſolummodo, quod omnes ſcimus, & concedimus, videlicet, *Medendi Artem* juxta ac *Artes Liberales* immunitatibus & privilegiis ab *Imperatoribus* tandem auctam & munitam fuiſſe. Atque hæc dum ſcribit, videt ille quidem, quam nihil prorſus ad ſuam cauſam pertineant, & fateri aperte cogitur, *Artem Medicam*[g] a *reliquis Artibus Liberalibus quodammodo ſegregari & diſtingui; eamque apud Veteres non tam in ſtudiis liberalibus, quæ ab ingenuis colebantur, quam in Artibus neceſſariis haberi:* quis autem hominem unquam tam petulantem, tamque abſurdum ſimul vidit; qui argumenti ſui initio *Middletoni calumniam* id eſſe dicit, quod antequam locum ipſum dimittat, *verum* omnino eſſe agnoſcit? nec quicquam ſane hoc in loco acutius meliuſve ſeſe geſſit *Reſponſionis Auctor,* ſed eadem fere omnia protulit; & poſtquam contra ſententiam meam, idque multis quidem verbis, diſputaverit; fatetur tandem per *Artes Liberales* eas præcipue ab Auctoribus intelligi, *quibus ingenui pueri in ſcholis inſtitui ſolebant; nec niſi poſterioribus ſeculis Juriſconſultos tam lato ſenſu Liberales Artes accepiſſe, ut Medicinam quoque eo nomine complecterentur*[h]. Sed de hoc omni *Artium Liberalium* genere alium mox dicendi locum, atque eum magis quidem opportunum, habebimus; cum *Rhetorem noſtrum* in *Cicerone* ad ſuam hac in re ſententiam interpretando, turpiter lapſum demonſtrabimus.

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[f] Ib. p. 20.

[g] Not. br. p. 22.

[h] Reſp. p. 74.

Annotator autem interea, tanquam Victor e certamine rediens, triumphum plane agere, & *Middletonum* currum ſuum ſequentem, cateniſque vinctum *Medicis ſuis* oſtentare ſibi videtur. *Jam ſatis demonſtratum*, exclamat, *quàm futilia atque etiam falſa pro gravibus & certiſſimis argumentis habuerit Middletonus; quàmque facilè refutentur ea, quæ in Medicos tanto ſtudio congeſſit. Etenim teſtimonia ejus præcipua, vel Clinicos quos deprimere tantopere ſtudet, minime attingentia, vel omnino per incuriam depravata, per malitiamve ficta, vel denique Veterum teſtimoniis certiſſimis contraria deprehendiſtis*[i]. Hujuſmodi autem exclamationibus, haud ſane expectandum erit, ut quidquam omnino reſpondeam; cum nihil certe aliud requiritur ad vanitatem hominis oſtendendam, quam ipſius verba referre atque exponere: ſin autem inventi aliqui ſint, iſtiuſmodi ingenii homines, qui ejus vel *diſputandi acumen* vel *ſcribendi ſtilum* probare poſſunt; ſiqui, inquam, ſint, qui *Notis hiſce brevibus* eum quidquam prorſus aliud demonſtraſſe credant, ac ſuam ipſius ignorantiam, temeritatem, malevolentiam; iſtiuſmodi certe hominibus ego nec ſatisfacere curo, nec mea omnino placere cupio.

Me tamen *homo facetus* deridendum [k] proponit, propterea quod *Græci Tragici* verſiculo *Romanorum hominum* conſuetudinem quandam demonſtrare eſſem aggreſſus: de *Servis ſcilicet ab iis ſtudiis atque Artibus quibus ipſi delectabantur, lege arcendis:* nonne verò *Romani etiam Poetæ* teſtimonium ad rem eandem confirmandam adjeci? idque nonne omnium recte ac dilucide diſputantium eſt, quam rem ſuſceperint probandam, eam rem primùm univerſe veram, aliarumque gentium notionibus conſentaneam, deinde apud eos homines præcipue de quibus quæſtio inſtituitur, in uſu fuiſſe oſtendere? Sed *Annotatori* hic quoque ſubſidio venit *Reſponſionis Auctor*, & *Terentium*, quo auctore uſus eſſem, ad *Atticorum ſolummodo, non ad Romanorum mores reſpicere affirmat*[l]*:* quaſi non perinde ac *in Græcia,* ita *Romæ* etiam eandem legem obtinuiſſe conſtaret; ubi *Servos* non à *cauſis modo orandis*, ſed vel a *teſtimonio dicendo* prohibitos cognovimus. Sed de objectionis hujus futilitate pluribus mox diſputabimus, cum illuc pervenerimus, ubi *Plauti* etiam in re conſimili teſtimonium *Auctorem noſtrum* rejicere cernemus.

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[i] Not. br. p. 23.

[k] Ib. p. 24.

Dixeram autem in *Diſſertatione meâ*, *nullam per aliquot ſecula de Medicinâ, tanquam de re humili nimis atque abjecta, a Scriptoribus Romanis mentionem fieri:* atque alio loco; *Græculos eos, qui Romam ſeſe Medicinæ exercendæ causâ contuliſſent, etſi liberos quidem nonnullos fuiſſe concedamus, generatim tamen humilis ſeu potius infimæ ſortis homines fuiſſe.* Id homini ſtomachum movere video; quæritque a me, *quonam Scriptorum Veterum teſtimonio, id mihi affirmandum ſumam, idque nullo prorsùs Auctore, ſed ex propriâ ſcientiâ me poſuiſſe dicit: mihi autem fidem non habendam, quippe qui dudum mala fide egerim*[m]. Quaſi id omnino teſtimoniis egeret, quod per ſe clarum & perſpicuum eſſet; quaſi, inquam, non ſenſus communis omnes præter hunc unum docuiſſet; *de qua ſcilicet re monumenta plane omnia ſilent; nec Hiſtorici mentionem ullam faciunt, eam rem aut omnino non exſtitiſſe, aut nihil ſaltem celebratione ſeu memoria dignum ſuppeditaſſe.*

Atqui idem etiam hoc in loco *Reſponſionis Auctor* a me quærit, *quo ſcilicet argumento Medicos hoſce liberos, humilis atque abjectæ conditionis fuiſſe demonſtrem*[n]. Illud vero nonne per ſe quoque æque perſpicuum eſt? nonne id, inquam, ratio ſenſuſque communis evincunt, homines illos, qui *quæſtus victuſque quæ-*

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[l] Reſp. p. 60. [m] Not. br. p. 25. [n] Reſp. p. 62.

rendi causâ, de patria ſua in alienam migrant, humilis ſeu infimæ potiùs ſortis maximam partem eſſe? num divites, num beati, num famâ atque opibus florentes natale ſolum exilio mutare ſolent, ut lucrum ſibi apud exteras gentes non ſine probro atque odio conficiant? num *Græci* præcipuè hoc omnino facere voluerint, qui omnium longè maximè patriam cùm ſuam amaverint, tum alienas contempſerint? etſi verò me *nullius omnino Auctoris ſententiam ne detortam quidem fictamvè ad opinionem meam confirmandam protuliſſe Annotator affirmat*[o]; nonne Plutarchi tamen [p] verbis clariſſimis oſtenderam, *totam Græcorum gentem odio & contemptui Romanis fuiſſe, ipſumque* nomen *Græcus* a plebe ſemper in ore *convitii loco* haberi & jactitari ſolere?

Sed *quid hoc ad Medicorum conditionem Reſponſionis auctor* ait, ſi *mos eſſet Romanæ plebeculæ, Græcorum gentem ita tractare*[q]*?* Tu verò cum *Medicos tuos* & *Græcos* & *Romæ* tamen *honoratos* & *ſplendidos* fuiſſe diſputas; nonne contra ſententiam tuam vim aliquam habere videtur, quòd oſtenderam, *Græcos* plane omnes, qualiſcunque fuerint Artis aut conditionis, *Romæ* non niſi in *probro & dedecore* verſari: & quam aliam ob cauſam hoc fieri putandum eſt, niſi quod id hominum genus egenum, ſordidum, eſuriens, *populus Romanus* ſemper cognoviſſet. Num cuiquam igitur præter *auctores noſtros* veriſimile videri poteſt, *Principes Græcorum Medicos*, gratiâ apud ſuos & dignitate florentes, atque *ampliſſima fortuna uſos*, *Romam* quæſtûs causâ migrare velle, ut tam iniquâ conditione viverent, ut ſibilis & contumeliis a plebe exciperentur?

Annotator autem, poſtquam in ſententia mea refutandâ tantum fruſtra laboris conſumpſerit; videt tandem atque apertè fatetur, hanc meam diſputationem non modo *dedecoris nihil*, ſed *laudem* potiùs & *gloriam Arti Medicæ* afferre, quæ *Profeſſores*

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[o] Not. br. p. 25. [p] Diſſert. p. 9. [q] Reſp. p. 63.

ſuos ex ignobili illo ſervitutis ſtatu, ad libertatem ſæpiſſime atque honores evehere ſoleret[r]. In quo tandem uno utrique facilè conſentimus; etenim hunc ego honorem nec *Medendi Arti* invideo, nec quicquam contra diſputare aggrediar: vellem ſolummodo, hoc idem initio homo vidiſſet; nec ſibi quidem tam turpiter ſcribendi infamiam, nec mihi tam ridiculi hominis caſtigandi faſtidium peperiſſet: quippe non odium certe aut reprehenſio ulla, ſed gratiæ mihi potiùs a *Medicis* debentur, qui eam cauſam defenderim ac probarim, quam *Arti ſuæ* honorem laudemque adjungere fatentur.

Sed *ab ipſo Cicerone jamdudum*, inquit[s], *dijudicata eſt hæc controverſia, locuſque ſuus Medicinæ tributus, neque primus is quidem neque ſecundus, at medius certe*, &c. *tantum rogo ut ſententiam ipſam, non ut apud Middletonum diſcerpitur ſed integram legere dignemini*, &c. Oh hominem omnium ſane ſagaciſſimum! qui inter *Primum & Secundum, Medium* quiddam Princeps invenerit! Egonè verò *Ciceronis* locum illum diſcerpſi, qui omnia quæ ad quæſtionem noſtram pertinerent, integrè quidem ipſiſſimiſque ejus verbis protuleram? quippe cum de *Medicina ſola* hæc omnis diſputatio inſtitueretur, quid mihi cum reliquis *iis Artificiis*, a *Cicerone* enumeratis; *Coquis, Mercatoribus, Agricolis*, &c. rei eſſet planè non videbam. Ille verò poſtquam hæc omnia in *Notas ſuas breves* integra tranſtulerit; *habetis hic*, inquit, *plenam atque apertam Ciceronis ſententiam, quam filii inſtituendi gratiâ poſuit*, &c. exiſtimat forſitan *Vir bonus*, hæc ad *Filium* ideo ſcripſiſſe *Ciceronem*, ut artem aliquam ex ibi memoratis, *Medicinam* ſcilicet ſeu *Mercaturam* adoleſcens ſibi exercendam deligeret: ſed optimo, fateor, conſilio, longam hanc *Ciceronis* periodum, etſi nihil quidem ad rem ſpectantem, huc tamen integram traduxerit, ut

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[r] Not. br. p. 26.

[s] Not. br. p. 26.

ſenſus tandem aliquis atque *Oratio pura*, quæ in reliquo ſuo opere requiruntur, in *tribus ſaltem pagellis* hiſce reperirentur.

Ciceronem autem quandoquidem is appellat, cujus quidem Auctoritate nihil mihi ſanctius eſſe poteſt, eum nobis Judicem conſtituamus: atque omiſſis iis, quæ de *cæteris*, ut dixi, *artibus*, nihil ad nos pertinentibus, hoc in loco differat; *Medicinæ* ſolummodò quem locum gradumve aſſignet unicè conſideremus: *quibus autem Artibus*, inquit Cicero, *aut prudentia major ineſt, aut non mediocris utilitas, ut Medicina, &c. hæ ſunt iis, quorum Ordini conveniunt, honeſtæ.* Hic vero quantum, *Dii boni*, eruditionis, quantum doctrinæ reconditioris *homo noſter* oſtentat? etenim *Aſconium Pedianum, Manutioſque ambos*[t], *Paullum atque Aldum* teſtes adhibet, Vocem eam, ORDO, *dignitatis alicujus* ſignificationem continere; atque ad *Senatum, Equiteſve* ad minimum, ad *plebem* vero nullo modo referri oportere: *Servorum* vero & *Libertinorum* non *Ordinem* ſed *conditionem* dici ſolere: atqui eum hac ſaltem vice felicem fateamur neceſſe eſt, quod magnorum tandem nominum auctoritate nugari ſibi contigit. Hoc autem omne quod tam erudite diſſeruit, ſi aliàs verum interdum eſſe concedamus; nonne videt tamen *Vir egregius* quàm hoc in loco non ſolum *Ciceronis* ſed *ſuæ* etiam *ipſius* ſententiæ contradicat; etenim num nobis hac ſuâ eruditione perſuadere vellet, *medendi Artem*, iis temporibus *Senatorio* ſeu *Equeſtri ſaltem Ordini* fuiſſe honeſtam? at nemo unquam tam temerarius fuit ut id diceret: neque is ipſe *ea audacia, eoque Artis amore* id quidem vel muſſitare audet; ſed aperte fatetur, nec *Primum* nec *Secundum* dignitatis gradum *ad Medicos* pertinere, ſed *Medium*, ut ſupra dixi, *neſcio quem*. Sicut autem nec *Senatorem* nec *Equitem* unquam temporibus illis *Medicinam* exercuiſſe certiſſimum eſt; ita nec *de Plebe magis aliquem* nec *Civem omnino ullum* eam attigiſſe contendo: neque illi omnes, qui hanc ſententiam impugnaverint, vel *unum* quidem *hominem Romanum*, qui *Medicinam, ante Cæſarum ætatem*, fuerit profeſſus, oſtendere unquam potuerint; quod quidem vel *Reſponſionis Auctor* fateri plane cogitur, nec *ullum ante eam ætatem de Romanis Medicum* extitiſſe concedit[u]: itaque quid nobis aliud relictum eſt hominum genus, de quo *Cicero* loqui intelligatur, cuive Vox illa, ORDINI applicetur, quàm, quem ipſe dixeram, *Servorum, Libertorum* & *Peregrinorum* Ordo?

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[t] Not. br. p. 28.

Vides jam, opinor, non temere me ac fortuito, ſed re prius perpenſâ & conſideratâ, ad *Ciceronem interpretandum* acceſſiſſe: Vides, inquam, iſtam tuam eruditionem, etiamſi vera nonnunquam eſſet, in hac tamen causâ nec locum ullum habere, nec lucis quicquam afferre: ſed quid tandem dices, ſi *futilem, falſamque eam* prorſus eſſe oſtendero? etenim ex multis *Scriptorum Veterum* locis probare facile poſſum, Vocem mea, ORDO, apud *optimos Latinatis Auctores* nihil aliud ſignificare, ac *certum quodlibet hominum genus, communi aliqua vitæ ſorte, vel abjecta atque infima* utentium.

Conveni *hodie hominem mei loci atque Ordinis*[w].

Nonne hoc de homine ſquallido & miſerrimo à *Gnathone Paraſito* dicitur? *Ciceronem* etiam ipſum, quem nobis *judicem* conſtituiſti, hanc eandem vocem non *Senatui* modo *Equitibuſve, ſed Plebi* quoque ſæpiſſime & *Libertinis interdum ipſis*, abjectæque ſortis hominibus, *Apparitoribus & Scribis* [x] applicare memini. Item in Inſcriptione quâdam Sepulchrali mulier de marito loquens.

Qui *me ab imo Ordine ad ſummum perduxit honorem*[y].

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[u] Reſp. p. 164. it. p. 220.

[w] Ter. Eun. 2. 2.

[x] In Piſon. 8. In Catal. 4. 8. In Verr. 1. 47. In Verr. 3. 78.

[y] Gruter. p. 353.

Homo autem *noſter*, qui *Auctorum verba diſcerpendi* atque *aliena adtexendi* crimen mihi objicit, videamus jam qualem tandem ex hoc omni *Ciceronis* loco ſententiam extorſerit. *Utique huc tandem*, inquit, *res redit*. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO AIT, MEDICINÆ PROFESSIONEM, HONESTO CIVIUM ORDINI DECORAM ESSE; CONYERS MIDDLETON NEGAT; EAMQUE ESSE SORDIDAM, ILLIBERALEM, CIVE PRORSUS INDIGNAM AFFIRMAT: UTRI CREDITIS QUIRITES[z]:

Quis jam non ſummam *hominis* vel inſcitiam, vel temeritatem, vel utrumque potiùs admirabitur, qui hunc locum aut tam parùm intellexerit, aut tam fœdè corruperit? ille tamen, quaſi impudentia gloriaretur, hoc *ingenii ſui commentum*, tanquam *legis*, aut *Senatus Conſulti* vim obtineret, *literis majuſculis* deſcribendum curavit. At in hoc omni *Ciceronis* loco, num de *ullo omnino Civium Ordine*, nedum *honeſto aliquo*, verbum quidem unum reperitur? num *Medicinæ profeſſio*, *Romanis omnino hominibus* convenire dicitur? nihil certè minùs: nec quicquam ſanè aliud, ex verbis ipſis elici aut intelligi poteſt, ac *Artes eas humiliores*, iſti hominum generi, cui propter *vitæ ſortem* convenirent, laudem quandam & decus afferre; quod de *Servis*, *Libertis*, & *Peregrinis* prorſus accipiendum eſſe abundè demonſtravi.

Sed quoniam *Ciceronem* appellavimus; quid de verbis iſtis exiſtimandum putas, ubi is *ingenui nihil ex Officina prodire poſſè affirmat?* nonne id *Medicos* aliquo modo attingere credis, quos omnes *Officinas ſuas* habuiſſe notiſſimum eſt? de illo itidem altero, quem tu *veriſſimum eſſe* dicis, quid cogitas? ſcilicet, *Honos alit artes, omneſque incenduntur ad ſtudia gloria, jacentque ea ſemper, quæ apud quoſque improbantur*[a]. Etenim ſi quod omnes plane

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[z] Not. br. p. 29.

[a] Not. br. p. 31.

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fatentur, nec honores ulli *Medendi Arti* conſtituti, nec ad ſtudium ejus promovendum *gloria ulla* ante *Cæſarum ætatem* fuerit unquam propoſita; tum, *Cicerone ipſo judice, jacuiſſe eam* ac *contemptam prorſus fuiſſe* neceſſe eſt.

Sed ad *Reſponſionis jam Auctorem* noſmet convertere neceſſe eſt, qui hunc itidem *Ciceronis* locum in librum ſuum idcirco tranſtulit, *ut me non minus*, uti ait[b], *In Ciceronis ac in Plinii ante verbis exponendis lapſum oſtendat:* in hoc autem loco interpretando, quod vix fieri poſſe credideram, *vel Annotatore ipſo* ſtultiorem ſeſe longe ac leviorem præbuit: diſputat enim *Vir Eruditus, Ciceronem* ibi de pervulgata ea *Artium partitione, in* LIBERALES *proprie ita dictas, ſeu* INGENUAS, *ut Cicero eas alibi vocat, ac* ILLIBERALES *ſeu* SORDIDAS *tractare propoſuiſſe*[c]*:* atque *hanc Artium diviſionem tam clare & aperte expoſuiſſe ut mirum profecto videatur, eam quemquam effugere potuiſſe*[d]*:* a *Sordidis* autem *Ciceronem*

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[b] Reſp. p. 53.

[c] Ib. p. 54. it. 74.

[d] Ib. 57. ut clariùs quod diſputemus intelligatur, verba ipſa Ciceronis huc etiam apponenda duxi — Jam de Artificiis & quæſtubus, qui liberales habendi, qui ſordidi ſint, hæc fere accepimus: primum improbantur ij quæſtus, qui in odia hominum incurrunt, ut Portitorum & Fœneratorum. Illiberales autem & ſordidi quæſtus mercenariorum omnium, quorum operæ non quorum artes emuntur; eſt enim illis ipſa merces auctoramentum ſervitutis. Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus, quod ſtatim vendant, nihil enim proficiunt, niſi admodum mentiantur: nec vero quicquam eſt turpius vanitate. Opificeſque omnes in ſordida arte verſantur. Nec vero quidquam ingenuum poteſt habere officina. Minimeque Artes probandæ, quæ miniſtræ ſunt voluptatum; cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piſcatores, ut ait Terentius. Adde his, ſi placet, unguentarios, ſaltatores, totumque ludum talarium. HACTENUS DE SORDIDIS: JAM AD LIBERALES VENIMUS. Quibus autem Artibus aut prudentia major ineſt, aut non mediocris Utilitas quæritur, ut Medicina, ut Architectura, ut Doctrina rerum honeſtarum; hæ ſunt eis, quorum ordini conveniunt, honeſtæ. Mercatura autem, ſi tenuis eſt, ſordida putanda eſt; ſin magna & copioſa, multa undique apportans, multiſque ſine vanitate impertiens, non eſt admodum vituperanda; atque etiam, ſi ſatiata quæſtu, vel contenta potius, ut ſæpe ex alto in portum, ex ipſo portu ſe in agros, poſſeſſioneſque contulerit, videtur optimo jure poſſe laudari. Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus

nem incipere, eaſque omnes percurrere dicit, uſque *ad Saltatores, totumque ludum talarium*; deinde quo res tota explicatior fieret, non *Ciceronis* ſed ſua quædam verba homo acutus interponit; [*hactenus de Sordidis, jam ad liberales venimus*] reliquaſque deinceps ibi enumeratas *liberalium* in numero *Ciceronis auctoritate* habendas affirmat; videlicet *Medicinam*; *Architecturam*; *Doctrinam rerum honeſtarum*; *Mercaturam*; *Agriculturam.*

Quis autem, ſi *Diis placet*, tam ridiculum unquam *Artium Liberalium* catalogum antea vidit? quis præter *Auctorem noſtrum* ejuſmodi illarum *Corpus quoddam* effingere potuit; de quibus ne unam quidem in *Liberalibus* unquam haberi reperimus? Artes enim iſtæ modò memoratæ, ſi in *Liberalibus* habendæ ſunt, tunc *Ars illa Agricolarum* omnium longe *liberaliſſima* eſſet, utpote omnium maxime hoc in loco laudata, liberiſque hominibus commendata: quod quidem homo noſter fatetur, *eamque ex omnibus ſpeciatim ſeu præcipue liberalem eſſe* dicit[e]. Sed tantum abfuit, ut *Agriculturam* Cicero unquam in *Artium Liberalium* numero ponendam exiſtimaret, ut eam ipſam, tanquam *ab omni politiori elegentia abhorrentem, ab Artibus ingenuis ac elegantibus* quàm longiſſime ſejungat[f].

Inſtat autem *Reſponſionis Auctor*, & *Medicinam* cum *Doctrina rerum honeſtarum* hoc in loco conjungi dicit, nec me tam temerarium fore credit, ut *doctrinam rerum honeſtarum Servis* convenire poſſe contendam[g]: at quicquid ille contra diſputet, contendam tamen, vel *eam* quoque *Servis* competere poſſe. Quid enim aliùd per *doctrinam rerum honeſtarum* intelligi poterit, ac *munus ipſum, profeſſioque res honeſtas docendi?* at harum plerumque

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quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil eſt Agriculturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil libero homine dignius. Cic. de Off. l. 1. 42.

[e] Reſp. p. 54.

[f] Cic. de Fin. l. 3.

[g] Reſp. p. 57.

doctores, *Rhetores* ſcilicet, *Grammaticos*, *Pædagogos*, ex *Servorum grege* fuiſſe cognovimus: quamvis enim *res ipſæ*, quas docebant, *honeſtæ & liberales* cenſebantur, docendi tamen munus Romæ ſaltem haud ullo fere in honore fuiſſe accepimus.

Ut hominis autem noſtri inſcitia clariùs appareat; loci hujus ſententiam tandem veram, ſenſumque paucis exquiramus. Atque id primum de *Artium Liberalium notione* ſciendum eſt; illas ſolummodo in earum numero a Veteribus cenſeri; non quæ *victus quærendi*, *lucrive faciendi* cauſa, ſed *animi erudiendi*, *delectandive* gratia excolebantur; atque ex quibus non *quæſtus aliquis*, *Utilitaſve ad vitam neceſſaria*, ſed *libera quædam animi oblectatio* quærebatur. Quam quidem earum veram propriamque eſſe definitionem arbitror: & quoties de *quæſtuoſis illis* aliquas, *minuſve ingenuis*, *Liberales* tamen aliquando dici reperiamus, id nonniſi *improprio vocis uſu*, *& laxiori quodam ſenſu* accipiendum, atque, uti hoc in loco, haud aliud indicare intelligendum eſt, ac ejuſmodi *Artes* a *probroſis & turpibus* diſtingui, atque iſti hominum generi, *cui conveniant*, honeſtas eſſe.

Hoc igitur loco *Ciceronem*, uti primo plane aſpectu perſpicuum eſt, de *Artibus revera & propriè liberalibus* nec verbum quidem ullum feciſſe, nec omnino cogitaſſe dico: diſſerit ſolummodo de *Artificiis* ſeu *quæſtubus* iſtis, unde *lucrum conficiebatur*, atque *aliquid adquiribatur*: *ſordidas* primum enumerat, eaſque omnes, quæ nonniſi cum probro, ac turpitudine quadam conjunctæ videntur; deinde ad *honeſtiores* progreditur; *Medicinam*, *Architecturam*, &c. quas *Ordini*, *cui conveniant*, non probrum aliquod, ſed decus potius, laudemque afferre ſignificat; & concludit denique; *omnium autem rerum* ex quibus aliquid adquiritur, *nihil eſſe Agricultura melius, uberius, dulcius, nec libero homine dignius.* Videmus jam, opinor, quo ſenſu *Agriculturam* tantopere laudet; non ut *Artem liberalem, aut ingenuam*, ſed de *quæſtuoſis iſtis* ſolummodo, ex *quibus aliquid adquiritur*, optimam & homine libero digniſſimam.

Artes autem, ut ſupra dixi, *liberales* a toto illo *genere quæſtuoſo* ſejunctas ſemper eſſe notiſſimum eſt, *eoque liberaliores* haberi, quo a *quæſtu & lucro omni* remotiores eſſent: quod quidem, cùm ex multis *ipſius Ciceronis* locis demonſtrari poteſt, tum ex eo potiſſimum, ubi ex *Pythagoræ* ſententia, vitam hominum mercatûs cujuſdam celebritati comparari ait.[h] *In quem, uti alii emendi aut vendendi quæſtu & lucro ducerentur, alii vero, iique vel maximè ingenui, nullum lucrum quærerent, ſed viſendi ſolummodo cauſa venirent, ſtudioſeque perſpicerent, quid ageretur*; ſic in vita & ſtudiis hominum accidere ſolere diſputat: nam *ut illic liberaliſſimum eſſet ſpectare nihil ſibi acquirentem; ſic in vita, ea longè ſtudia excellere, cæteriſque omnibus præſtare*, quæ nulla *quæſtus aut pecuniæ* ſpe propoſita, in rerum *cognitione & contemplatione* verſabantur. Atque hinc jam quivis facile judicabit, quanti *Rhetor noſter* ingenii fuerit; quàm in Veterum ſcriptis evolvendis diligens: quam in interpretandis acutus; quamque ad Eruditorum controverſias dijudicandas inſtructus acceſſerit; quàm denique verum vel nunc etiam illud ipſum ſit, quod *Ciceronem* alicubi indicaſſe memini; nihil ſcilicet magni aut ſolidi unquam ex *Rhetorum Officinis*, ſed *Academiæ ſolummodo ſpatiis* extitiſſe.

Sed ad *Annotatorem* tandem *noſtrum* revertamur, qui hac *ſua velitatione* quaſi defatigatus, nec in aciem ipſam ac dimicationem deſcendere auſus, receptui canere incipit, & *dimittamus jam*, inquit, *Theologum undique doctiſſimum; reliqua perſequantur* ii, *quibus otium eſt, quique fuerint diutius in Antiqui-*

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[h] Tuſc. qu. l. 5. 3.

tatitatis cognitione verſati.[i] Quorum alterum, Præclare Annotator, Tibi facile concedam, *Antiquitatis* ſcilicet *cognitione* Te ab aliis certe quibuſvis ſuperari; alterum vero nunquam Tibi dabo; *otio* quemvis alium *plus Teipſo* abundare: qua enim in re Te tantopere occupatum exiſtimare poſſumus? num literarum ſtudiis? at *egregium hocce opuſculum tuum* nos id omnino putare vetat; Teque in bonis literis, boniſque artibus hoſpitem eſſe declarat. Num profeſſionis tuæ muniis, ægriſve obeundis? at quiſquam tam vitæ prodigus invenitur, qui Tibi ea ignorantia ſimul ac temeritate valetudinem ſuam committere audeat? Sed ſingularem hominis modeſtiam hic etiam obiter notare libet. Quippe is, *occupationibus* licet diſtentus, nec *in Antiquitatis cognitione* verſatus, mea tamen omnia, quæ *præcipua tibi viſa* ſunt, ſibi ipſi refutanda atque evertenda ſuſcepit; reliqua vero, quæ ne *minimi quidem momenti, nec refutatione digna* pronuntiat[k], iis tamen perſequenda relinquit, qui *otio abundant*, qui *rerum antiquarum ſcientia* excellunt.

Ut verò cum primis, ultima tandem conſentiant; cum nihil aliud *Notæ hæ breves* ac ſummam hominis malevolentiam, cum pari ſanè ſtultitiâ conjunctam oſtenderint; *velim autem*, inquit[l], *exiſtimet Vir Eruditus, ea quæ à me contra ejus ſententiam libere dicta ſunt; non eſſe eo animo dicta, quod aliquam in illum contumeliam jacere cuperem, ſed quia veritatem, quæ ab ipſo obſcurata quidem eſt, quantum potui patefacere ſtuderem.* Tu vero, num vel *unam* demum nobis *veritatem patefeciſti*? numvè *unam* aliquam *calumniandi occaſionem* prætermiſiſti? quippe ea, *Vir probe*, annon *contumelia* eſt; *Theologiæ Profeſſorem, Mendacem, Malevolum, Calumniatorem* ubique appellare? annon id, inquam, quàm maximè *contumelioſum*; hominem liberalitèr educatum inſimulare; quòd *falſitate alios circumvenire ſtudeat*[m]; quod de locis ex auctoribus citatis, *nonnulla audacter mutaverit*[n]; *alia malitioſe confinxerit*[o]; *aliis verba aliena adtexerit, quo fucum faceret*[p]; *quod de veritate nihil ſit ſollicitus, dummodo convitii aliquid congerat*[q]; *quod fide nullâ dignus ſit, propterea quod mala fide egerit*[r]. Quippe hujus generis omnia, ſi vera prorſus eſſent, parcius tamen objici, nec tam apertè dici ſolent; cum autem ſint falſiſſima, & tam libere tamen profundantur, non verbis ſolummodo & diſputatione caſtigari, ſed legibus pœniſque potius coerceri merentur.

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[i] Not. br. p. 30.

[k] Ib. p. 23.

[l] Not. br. p. 31.

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[m] Ib. 19.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ib. 23.

[p] Ib. 18.

[q] Ib. 13.

[r] Ib. 24.

THE

EPISTLES

OF

M. T. CICERO to M. BRUTUS,

AND OF

BRUTUS to CICERO:

WITH THE

Latin Text on the oppoſite page,

AND

Engliſh Notes to each Epistle.

Together with a

PREFATORY DISSERTATION,

In which the Authority of the ſaid Epiſtles is vindicated, and all the Objections of the Rev. Mr. *Tunſtall* particularly conſidered and confuted.

THE PREFACE.

THE authority of the following letters having lately been called in queſtion by the learned *Mr. Tunſtall, Fellow of St. John's College, and Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge* [1]; who in a Latin Epiſtle addreſſed to myſelf, has attempted to prove them to be the forgery of ſome Sophiſt, and on the merit of that proof, has rejected them as ſpurious [2]; it ſeems incumbent particularly on me, to vindicate their credit, and aſſert their real antiquity: ſince it might juſtly be reckoned a fraud in the litterary, as it is in the mercantile world, to offer any thing to the public, which we did not either believe, or could not even warrant to be genuin: and an Epiſtle indeed of that ſort addreſſed to me, muſt be interpreted by every body, as a defiance or challenge to enter the liſts with him in that cauſe; which it would be ſhamefull in me to decline, not onely as an Editor of the Epiſtles in queſtion, but as I have made great uſe of them in my *Life of Cicero*, without intimating the leaſt ſcruple, or indeed without conceiving any about them.

For I am not aſhamed to own, that I have always looked upon theſe letters, not onely as originals, but the moſt valuable of that kind, which are preſerved to us from old *Rome*; written in the very criſis and laſt ſtruggle of it's liberty, by the greateſt men who then lived in it, and who ſoon after died for it. This,

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[1] Vid. Tunſtalli Epiſt. ad C. Middleton. 8vo Cantabrigiæ 1741.

[2] De Epiſtolis—quæ *Ciceronis* nomen falsò præferunt. ibid. p. 3.

I ſay, has been my conſtant perſuaſion; which, after all the pains, that our learned Critic has taken, I ſee not the leaſt reaſon to alter: and ſince it would be a ſenſible loſs to all the lovers of polite letters, to be deprived of a claſſical remnant of antiquity, of which they have fancied themſelves rightfully poſſeſſed; I think it my duty, as far as I am able, to free them from that apprehenſion, and to enſure to them the poſſeſſion of a treaſure, which they have ſo long enjoyed and ſo highly valued.

If it ſhould be aſked, why in a controverſy of this nature, I have choſen to give an *Engliſh* anſwer to a *Latin Epiſtle*; there were ſeveral reaſons, which determined me to prefer this method: firſt, the perpetual reference and connection, which this piece will neceſſarily have with my *Life of Cicero:* ſecondly, as it will be a proper Preface to this Engliſh Edition of the letters themſelves: and thirdly, as it will make the ſubject of our diſpute more intelligible to every body; eſpecially ſince our Critic, with his *Latin* performance, though he profeſſes, *to come freſh from the Study of Tully's Epiſtles* [1], has not had the fortune to make himſelf underſtood, and will conſequently be very little read, without the help of ſuch a comment.

In order therefore to place the whole argument in the cleareſt light, I ſhall lay before the reader, in the firſt place, a ſhort hiſtory of the Epiſtles here publiſhed; as it is delivered to us from the earlieſt tradition, to the time of our Critic's attack upon them.

It appears from the accounts of the ancients, that a collection of letters, between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, was ſubſiſting many ages after *Cicero*'s death. *Nonius Marcellus*, an old Grammarian, cites a paſſage from *the firſt*; and another, from the *eighth book* of them [2]: *Quintilian* often refers to them [3]: and *Plutarch*, as our Critic obſerves, has given us extracts from two of the principal of them [4]. This collection then conſiſted of *eight books*; all of them probably written, between the time of *Cæſar*'s and of *Cicero*'s death, concerning the memorable events of that buſy period; which included about a year and half: for the paſſage, that *Nonius* cites from *the firſt* book, is found in *the firſt* of theſe Epiſtles now remaining [5]; which ſeems to have been written about the end of the year, in which *Cæſar* was killed [6]. The correſpondence indeed between theſe two great men began ſeveral years before, when *Cicero* was Proconſul of *Cilicia* [7]; and was carried on occaſionally through all *Cæſar*'s reign; but as the letters of that interval related chiefly to private affairs, and the mutual recommendation of their friends to each other; ſo thoſe, which happened to be preſerved, were inſerted among the *Familiar Epiſtles*, where ſome of them are to be found at this day [8].

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[1] Nam cum ab Epiſtolarum earum, quæ haud dubie *Ciceronis* ſunt, lectione recens ad has—deveniſſem. Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 193.

As the original letters then of this collection are allowed to have ſubſiſted till the time of *Plutarch*; ſo we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been wholly loſt in *Rome* and *Italy*, till the final declenſion of that Empire, and that univerſal ruin, which oppreſſed all the liberal arts, by the overbearing power of *the Goths and Vandals*. But after many centuries of *Gothic* barbariſm, whenever any men of genius or ſuperior taſt began to enquire after the monuments of the ancients, *Cicero*'s works were generally the firſt, that were ſought for in all the places, where there was any ſchool of learning, or library of books. *Petrarch*, who floriſhed about the year 1340, was the leader in this ſearch, as all the later writers teſtify of him. *He was the firſt*, ſays *Ludovicus Vives*, *who unlocked the muſty Libraries, and wiped off the duſt from the monuments of the Claſſic writers: on which account the Latin tongue is much indebted to him*; *though he was not able to attain to a purity of writing*, *or to clear himſelf intirely from the barbariſm of his age. Paullus Jovius* and others give the ſame account of him; *that he was the firſt*, *who attempted to retrieve the Latin tongue, and to raiſe up the ancient letters from their Gothic Sepulchers* [1].

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[2] Vid. Non. Marcell. de different. dictionum in different. inter *amare* & *diligere*. it. And. Patric. in Fragment. Epiſt. ad Brut.

[3] Vid. Quintil. l. 3. c. 8. l. 8. 3, 6. l. 9. 3, 4.

[4] Vid. Tunſtall. Epiſt. p. 194.

[5] Obſervandum eſt, eum Epiſtolarum librum, qui nunc etiam extat inter impreſſos, ad *Brutum*, primum nominari a Nonio, in differentia inter *amare* & *diligere*. And. Patric. in Fragm. Epiſt. ad Brut.

[6] A. U. 709.

[7] In *Cicero*'s Epiſtles to *Atticus*, during his government of *Cilicia*, he mentions ſeveral letters, which he had received from *Brutus*. Ep. ad Att. l. 6. 1. &c.

[8] Ep. Fam. 13. 10.

He tells us himſelf, in one of his letters, what great pains he took, to recover the remains of *Cicero*; not onely in perſon and in his travels through *France* and *Germany*, but by commiſſions to his friends and correſpondents in all parts of Europe, the reſult of which was; *that he got together ſeveral duplicates of Cicero's common pieces*, *but was not able*, he ſays, *to procure any of the rare ones*, *except the two books on Glory*, (which he loſt again ſoon after by lending to a friend) *and ſome ſeparate Epiſtles and Orations* [2]. Among the reſt, we find him poſſeſſed of theſe very Epiſtles, which are the ſubject of our preſent inquiry: for in one of his letters, fancifully addreſſed to the Manes of *Cicero*, he cites two paſſages, from the two celebrated Epiſtles of *Brutus*; the one to *Cicero*, the other to *Atticus* [3].

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[1] Vid. Doctor. teſtimonia de Petrarcha. in Edit. Oper. Fol. Baſil. 1581.

[2] Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. l. 15. 1.

[3] Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. ad quoſdam e Veterib. Ep. 1. p. 704.

Petrarch's example improved the taſt of his own, as well as of the ſucceding ages; and inſpired the learned with the ſame zeal of hunting out the works of the ancients, and particularly of *Cicero.* Among whom *Poggius of Florence*, in the next century, is ſaid to have brought into *Italy* the copies of ſeveral of his pieces, from *the Council of Conſtance*; and to have been the firſt diſcoverer of the intire collection *of his Epiſtles to Atticus* [4]; which, with thoſe *to his Brother Quintus*, and the few, that were then found of theſe very letters to *Brutus*, were printed together in one volume, ſoon after *Poggius*'s death, at *Venice*, by *Nicolas Jenſon*; and at *Rome* by *Sweynheim* and *Pannartz*; A. D. 1470. Which letters, as it is ſignified in an Epigram, at the end of *Jenſon*'s Edition, were very rare to be met with before the time of that impreſſion [5].

But of the *eight books* of theſe letters, which anciently ſubſiſted, no more could be retrieved by the curious of thoſe times, than *eighteen* ſcattered Epiſtles, which were publiſhed in that firſt edition; and of which ſeveral impreſſions were afterwards made in different parts of Europe: till *ſix* or *ſeven* more, rather fragments, than intire letters of the ſame collection, happened to be found many years after in *Germany*; which were printed likewiſe and added to the common editions, though ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed in moſt of them, as they continue ſtill to this day, from the *eighteen*, which were before publiſhed.

Theſe *eighteen*, from their firſt appearance in the world, either in MS. or print, have generally paſſed among the learned for *the original Epiſtles of Cicero and Brutus*. *Eraſmus* indeed ſeems to rank the letters of *Brutus*, in the ſame claſs with thoſe of *Phalaris*, as *the declamatory compoſitions* of ſome Sophiſt [2]: yet upon another occaſion, he cites the very ſame letters, without intimating the leaſt ſuſpicion of them [3]; and I do not know, that they have ever been ſuſpected by any body elſe. As to the reſt, which were found afterwards in Germany, though the novelty of the diſcovery ſurprized the Critics a while, and made them cautious of declaring any judgement upon them; yet after they had been ſpread into all hands, and conſidered at leiſure by men of taſt, they met with the ſame approbation, as the firſt eighteen; and have been cited ever ſince without any ſcruple, as the unqueſtionable remains of the great authors, to whom they are aſcribed.

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[4] Vid. Hoffman. Lexic. de Poggio. & And. Patric. in Fragm. de Gloria.

[5] Vid. Mattaire Annal. Typograph. vol. 1.

I publiſh theſe ſix Epiſtles, ſays *Victorius*, *as I received them from the Germans: for though I have never met with them in any old MSS, yet I have no mind to impeach the fidelity of the Germans, who atteſt, that they found them in an ancient copy, nor to interpoſe my own judgement on either ſide* [4]. *Lambinus* ſays the ſame thing, but adds, *yet if any one is deſirous, to know my opinion about them, I take them to be the genuin Epiſtles of Brutus and Cicero* [5].

Sigonius, in his collection of the fragments of *Cicero*, ſpeaking of theſe ſame letters, ſays; “ I have choſen to inſert in this “ place, four letters of *Cicero* to *Brutus*, and one of *Brutus* “ to *Cicero*, which are ſaid to be found by *the Germans* in a

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[2] Porro, quas nobis reliquit neſcio quis, *Bruti* nomine; nomine *Phalaridis*, nomine *Senecæ* & *Pauli*; quid aliud cenſeri poſſunt, quam declamatiunculæ? Epiſt. ad Beat. Rhenan. Oper. Tom. 3. par. 1. p. 554. C. Lugd. Bat. 1703.

[3] *Brutus* indignatur *Ciceroni*, qui ſuis concionibus & ſcriptis irritaret eos, quos irritatos non poſſet opprimere. Ep. ad Guilhelm. ib. p. 641. A.

[4] See Victorius's Edition of Cicero's works.

[5] See Lambinus's Edition.

" MS copy [1]; becauſe they are rejected by many, as ſpu-
" rious, nor are found in all the printed editions; and in thoſe,
" where they are found, are jumbled together confuſedly, and
" read with little or no regard—yet both the matter and time
" of them ſhew, that they ought to be placed before all the reſt
" of the Epiſtles to *Brutus*, but ſo, as to be connected with
" them [2]." And in another part of his comment, he confirms a paſſage in one of theſe letters, by a parallel expreſſion in the other *eighteen*, which, as he declares, *were unqueſtionably held to be Cicero's* [3].

Andr. Patricius alſo, who publiſhed a more compleat collection of the ſame fragments, ſoon after that of *Sigonius*, ſpeaking of *the Epiſtles found in Germany*, ſays; " there are ſome
" indeed, who deny them to be *Cicero*'s, but I attribute more
" in this caſe, to the letters themſelves, which ſpeak ſufficiently
" for themſelves, and to the authority alſo of *Manutius*, who
" affirms the ſame thing, than to any man living. Yet thoſe,
" who do not acknowledge *Cicero*'s hand in them, are but few,
" and cannot ſurely be very learned. Let theſe letters then
" be joined to the reſt, as the thing itſelf requires, and as
" *Sigonius* has ſhewn the way [4]."

This was the ſtate of *the following Epiſtles*, when our Critic thought fit to make his attack upon them. The eighteen, firſt printed, had been generally received as genuin by the Critics of all ages: the reſt were ſuſpected a while by a few, but after a due examination obtained the ſame credit with the firſt. Our

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[1] Theſe Epiſtles found in Germany are differently divided in the common Editions into *five*, *ſix* or *ſeven*. For as five of them were found imperfect, ſo ſome of the five have been annexed to each other according to the different fancy of different Editors, as ſuppoſed to have belonged originally to the ſame letter.

[2] Vid. Sigonii. Schol. in Fragm. Cic. p. 176.

[3] Quod etiam facit in iis, quæ pro certo *Tullianæ* habentur, ibid, p. 178.

[4] Vid. And. Patricium in Fragm. Epiſt. ad Brutum.

Critic makes no diſtinction, but roundly condemns them all: and ſo far I am ready to agree with him; that if he can prove any one of them to be forged, I ſhall make very little difficulty to give up the reſt. But though I have conſidered his arguments with attention, yet they have had no other effect, but to perſuade me more ſtrongly than ever, that the letters are originals: and I can hardly doubt, but that every reader will be of the ſame mind, when we come to the examination of his particular objections.

But before we deſcend to this taſk, it will be neceſſary to diſcuſs with him a preliminary point or two, which ſeem to be of no ſmall moment towards determining the main queſtion. For if, upon his authority, we muſt believe the Epiſtles to be ſpurious, it might reaſonably be expected, that he ſhould give us ſome account *at the ſame time*, in what age, or *by whom*, they might probably be forged; concerning which he has not ventured, to offer the leaſt conjecture. That we may ſupply therefore what he has omitted, let us conſider here a little, at what time this imagined forgery could poſſibly be executed. He allows them indeed to be *ancient* [4]; yet in another place ſeems to ſuſpect, that they may perhaps *be modern* [5]; but does not pretend to ſay, either *how ancient* or *how modern* he takes them to be: and here lies the difficulty; and ſo great an one, as ſeems ſufficient of itſelf, to ſhake his whole Hypotheſis.

The original letters were extant, as we have ſeen, to the time of *Plutarch*; and could not therefore be loſt, till the purity of the Latin tongue was loſt: and as there could be no room for ſuch a forgery, as long as the genuin letters were in being, ſo it is not credible, that, in the following ages of barbariſm, a Sophiſt ſhould be found, ſo perfect a maſter of *Cicero*'s ſtile, and the pureſt taſt of writing, as to impoſe his forgeries upon the ableſt Critics, who have ever lived: or that he ſhould think of putting ſuch a cheat upon the world, at a time, when there was ſcarce a man, much leſs a ſociety of men in it, who had any particular reſpect for *Cicero*, or made any ſtudy of his writings: or when thoſe writings lay diſperſed and neglected in diſtant parts of *Europe*, that he ſhould be furniſhed with them ſo largely, as to be able to execute a work, which required an intimate knowledge and acquaintance with them all.

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[4] Quod ſiquis horum antiquitatis monumentorum, veterum fortaſſe—amore adductus, &c. Tunſtall. Epiſt. p. 251.

[5] Hæc quidem antitheſis quiddam τῶν νεωτέρων ſapere videtur, ibid. p. 233, in notis.

Again; as the genuin letters ſubſiſted, till the purity of Latin was loſt, ſo theſe remains, which are now in our hands, were actually in being long before that purity revived; being cited, as I have ſhewn, by *Petrarch*, two centuries before the reformation; or before any taſt of fine writing began to floriſh again in Europe: ſo that, if they were really forged, as our Critic contends, they muſt have been forged in the intermediate ages of darkneſs and ignorance, ſince their known hiſtory precludes us from aſcribing them to any other age.

For my own part, as far as I am able to judge, either from the ſtile, or, on what I lay a far greater ſtreſs, the matter of them, I take them to be in all points ſo truly *Ciceronian*, as to be perſuaded, that there has ſcarce been a man in the world, from the time of *Plutarch*, to that of *Petrarch*, who was capable of ſuch a forgery. Nay, from the time even of *Auguſtus*, we ſee ſo remarkable an alteration, and gradual declenſion of language, in the very beſt writers of the ſucceding ages, as could hardly have failed of being diſtinguiſh'd, in a ſeries of many letters, from the flowing periods of *Cicero*. The lower we deſcend, the caſe is ſtill worſe; and in proportion, as we remove from the age of *Cicero*, towards that of *Petrarch*, the difficulty encreaſes to a degree almoſt of impoſſibility. About the time indeed of the Reformation, the men of taſt and polite letters began to vie with each other in the delicacy of their ſtile, and above all, in the imitation of *Cicero*; in which they were ſo nice and faſtidious, as to allow nothing to be claſſical, that was not drawn from his works [1]. Some of theſe, by making *Cicero* their ſole pattern, were able perhaps to copy his manner, with more exactneſs, than any who have lived ſince *Plutarch*'s time: but it happens, that the ſuſpected letters were not onely extant, but printed, long before any writers of this claſs were in being.

But if we had found a Sophiſt, capableof ſuch a work, and ſettled the time, in which he lived, yet another queſtion will occur, of no leſs difficulty, concerning the end, that he propoſed to himſelf in undertaking it. It could not certainly be fame; ſince he choſe to lie concealed, and continues concealed to this day: nor could it be money; ſince in the barbarous ages, no body would buy his work; nor in any age, would the gain ever pay for the labor of it. Our Critic indeed has pointed out two ends, which he might poſſibly have in view; firſt, to draw up *an epilogue or ſupplement to the Epiſtles to Atticus, ſo as to carry on the hiſtory, where thoſe to Atticus drop it* [2]. But when there had been *eight books* of theſe letters originally ſubſiſting, whoſe loſs ſuggeſted the thought of forging others in their ſtead, it is reaſonable to imagine, that he would have carried on the hiſtory, as far as thoſe books had done; or given us at leaſt a regular ſeries of letters, and not, what we now find, a few unconnected Epiſtles, with ſome pieces or fragments of others, which appear to be the ruins of a greater work; and inſtead of continuing the hiſtory to the end of the coreſpondence between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, afford but a partial and broken detail of it, through four months only of the twelve, which he had undertaken to ſupply.

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[1] Quaſi parùm ſit in orbe factionum, revixit nova factio *Ciceronianorum*—Ut, fateor *Ciceroni* primam in dicendo laudem deberi, ita puto ridiculum, tota vita nihil aliud agere, quam ut *Ciceronem unum* exprimas. Ep. ad Jac. Tuſſanum. ib. p. 938. D.

Ac non *Ciceronianum* appellari, multo probroſius eſſe ducunt, quam appellari hæreticum. ad Jo. Vergar. ib. p. 1015. E.

[2] Hæque remaneant ſolæ, quæ earum, quæ ad *Atticum* ſunt, hiſtoriam producant, & *Epilogi* cujuſdam vicem, quaſi id de induſtria comparatum fuiſſet, ſuſtineant. Tunſtall. Epiſt. p. 194.

The ſecond end, which he has provided for his Sophiſt, is, *to vindicate Cicero's character from the imputation of raſhneſs, in throwing too much power into the hands of Octavius* [1]*:* and this indeed was the onely anſwer, that he gave me, when I aſked him once in a converſation, *what end the Sophiſt could ſerve by ſuch a forgery:* and though I thought it ridiculous, and freely told him ſo, yet he has taken occaſion to intimate it in different parts of his work. But againſt whom then could this Sophiſt mean to defend *Cicero?* why truly againſt himſelf. For no body ever accuſed him, but the author of theſe letters; or no body, I may venture to ſay, who had not firſt read and believed them to be genuin. This *Petrarch*, though he had a veneration for *Cicero*'s character, yet upon the authority of theſe letters, does not ſcruple to cenſure his conduct, as inconſiſtent with his principles. *What anſwer*, ſays he, *will you give to your Brutus, when he tells you, that the court, which you pay to Octavius, ſhews, that you are not diſpleaſed with a maſter, but want onely to have a more frendly one?* And again, *I myſelf, with*

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[1] Id notare proclive eſt, *defenſorem noſtrum Ciceronis* plus nimio laboraſſe, ne is, in ſuſcipiendo *Cæſaris* patrocinio, promovendaque dignitate, famam, quod dicit, ſubiret temeritatis. Ib. 212.

that ſame Brutus, can no longer ſet any value on thoſe arts, with which I know you to be ſo greatly furniſhed [1]. Our Critic therefore, if he will be conſiſtent, muſt introduce *two Sophiſts*, inſtead of *one*, in his next edition; the one to arraign, and the other to defend *Cicero*.

But it is time to procede to the examination of his objections, which he ſumms up in general to the following effect;

" *That as he came freſh from the reading of Cicero's genuin*
" *letters, ſo he perceived, that theſe to Brutus wanted the beauty*
" *and copiouſneſs of the Ciceronian diction; that both Brutus's and*
" *Cicero's were drawn in the ſame ſtile and manner of coloring;*
" *and trimmed up with ſo much art and diligence, that they ſeemed*
" *to procede rather from ſcholaſtic ſubtlety and meditation, than*
" *from the genuin acts and affairs of real life: that when there*
" *had been ſeveral other letters from Brutus to Cicero, and to*
" *Atticus, both before and after the time, in which theſe are ſuppoſ-*
" *ed to be written, it was ſtrange, that all thoſe ſhould be loſt, and*
" *theſe onely remain, which appear to have been induſtriouſly de-*
" *ſigned for an Epilogue to the Epiſtles to Atticus. That theſe*
" *reaſons induced him to ſuſpect; but upon looking farther into the*
" *letters themſelves, he diſcovered many abſurdities in the ſenſe, im-*
" *proprieties in the language; many remarkable predictions of*
" *future events, both on Brutus's ſide and on Cicero's; but what*
" *was moſt material, a great number of hiſtorical facts, not onely*
" *quite new, but wholly altered, and ſome even apparently falſe,*
" *and contradictory to the genuin works of Cicero* [1]."

He goes on to ſupport this general charge by particular proofs, and begins with ſuch as relate to hiſtory; which he opens with two *notable paſſages*, as he calls them, from *Plutarch*; wherein he gives the following ſummary account of the two famous Epiſtles of *Brutus*; the one to *Cicero*, the other to *Atticus*, which our Critic ſuppoſes *Plutarch* to have ſeen in the original collection, that ſubſiſted in his time [1]. " *When* " *Cicero*, ſays *Plutarch*, *out of hatred to Antony had eſpouſed the* " *intereſts of* Octavius, *Brutus reproved him for it ſeverely, telling* " *him by letter, that he had no averſion to a maſter, but was* " *afraid onely of an angry one; that all his meaſures tended to* " *procure an eaſy ſervitude, ſince he was conſtantly declaring in* " *his letters and ſpeeches, that Octavius was a good natured man*; " *whereas our anceſtors*, ſays he, *would not endure even a gentle* " *maſter. That for his part, he had not thought proper as yet,* " *either to enter forwardly into war, nor wholly to ſit idle, but* " *had taken onely this ſingle reſolution, not to live a ſlave. That* " *he was ſurprized, that Cicero ſhould have ſo much dread of a* " *civil and dangerous war, yet have none at the ſame time of* " *a baſe and inglorious peace*; *but ſhould demand as the reward of* " *diſpoſſeſſing Antony of his tyranny, to make Octavius the Tyrant* " *in his ſtead. To this effect*, ſays *Plutarch*, *Brutus expreſſed* " *himſelf in his firſt letter* [2]."

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[1] Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. ad viros quoſdam e veteribus. Ep. 1. p. 704.
[1] Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 193.

Again; with regard *to Brutus's other letters to Atticus*, *Plutarch* ſays; " *that Cicero's hatred to Antony in the firſt place, and* " *in the next, his own natural temper, unable to hold out againſt* " *thoſe, who paid a court to him, made him Octavius's friend*; " *imagining, that he ſhould attach his power by that means* " *to the ſervice of the ſtate. For the young man carried himſelf ſo obſequiouſly towards him, as to call him even* " *Father. Upon which Brutus, being greatly incenſed, inveighs*

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[1] Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 194.

[2] Vid. Plutar. in Vit. Brut. p. 994.

" *againſt Cicero, in a letter to Atticus; that by the obſervance* " *which he paid to Octavius, through fear of Antony, he plainly* " *ſhewed, that his aim was, not to procure the liberty of his country,* " *but a kind maſter onelyto him ſelf* (1)."

Now theſe two paſſages agree very well in the main with the general argument of the two letters, which are ſtill extant. But our Critic obſerves, that there are ſome manifeſt contradictions between them; the principal of which is, that the genuin letters, which *Plutarch* had ſeen, were written by *Brutus, while he continued in Italy*; whereas theſe, which are now in our hands, are pretended to be written much later, *when Brutus was in Macedonia* [2]. He mentions two other contradictions of leſs moment, which I ſhall not repeat, as being nothing to his purpoſe; ſince thoſe, who follow fact and plain ſenſe, would make no other reflection upon them, but that *Plutarch* was negligent and inaccurate, as he is known to be in all his *Lives*, and the whole difficulty would be ſolved.

But this ſolution cannot pleaſe our Critic. It cuts ſhort all refinement, and leaves no room for an Hypotheſis; which he reſolves to build upon theſe very facts; for he tells us in the next paragraph, " *that ſome Sophiſt, happening to read thoſe* " *true ſentiments of Brutus, in Plutarch, or ſome other Hiſtorian,* " *took the hint to forge a collection of letters upon that plan, and* " *executed it accordingly; but without the leaſt regard to the time, in* " *which the original letters were written; or without conſidering,* " *how much earlier Plutarch had placed the facts there mentioned,* " *than he thought fit afterwards to place them; or how long before* " *his account of the matter, Octavius had been ſuſpected, and* " *Brutus had found reaſon to chide Cicero for his inconſiderate*

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[1] Plut. in Vit. Cicer. p. 883.

[2] Tunſt. Ep. p. 196.

" *raſhneſs in making him ſo great* [1]." But he muſt be a ſtupid Sophiſt indeed, who after forming the plan of a work, by which he hoped to deceive the world, could be ſo careleſs in the execution of it, as to contradict his author in the very articles, which he was borrowing from him.

Since *Plutarch*'s *authority* then is made the foundation of our Critic's Hypotheſis, in oppoſition to what I have elſewhere obſerved with relation to it, it will be neceſſary to reſume the conſideration of that queſtion, and to ſtate the real merit of it, as briefly as I can; eſpecially as it will afford us a ſpecimen of our Critic's judgement, and manner of reaſoning through his whole performance.

I had obſerved in the Preface to my Life of Cicero, " that " the *Greek Hiſtorians* were to be read with ſome caution, in " their accounts of Roman affairs; as being ſtrangers to the " language and cuſtoms of *Rome*; and on that account liable " to many miſtakes, and ſubject to many prejudices: that " *Plutarch* in particular was not ſufficiently qualified for *a* " *compiler of a Roman Hiſtory*, for the want of a competent " ſkill in the Latin tongue; but if he had poſſeſſed all the " talents requiſite to that character, yet the attempt of writing " *the lives of all the illuſtrious Greeks and Romans*, was above the " ſtrength of any ſingle man, of what abilities and leiſure " ſoever; much more of one, who, as he himſelf tells us, *was* " *perpetually engaged in public buſineſs, and in giving lectures of* " *Philoſophy to the great men of Rome:* that his Lives there" fore muſt needs be imperfect and ſuperficial; and the ſketch " rather than the completion of a great deſign: for the truth " of which I appealed to his *Life of Cicero*; in which, beſides

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[1] Tunſt. Ep. p. 197.

“ the numerous miſtakes that have been charged upon it by the “ learned, we ſee all the imaginable marks of negligence, inaccuracy, and want of due information of it [1].”

After the publication of that work, I was informed, that an ingenious member of the French Academy, *M. Secouſſe*, had given the ſame judgement on *Plutarch* before me, and for the ſame reaſons; which he had exemplified by many inſtances from the lives of *Camillus*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey:* where, among other miſtakes, he had taken notice of one or two, which ſeemed to be derived from the equivocal ſenſe of the *Latin word*, and *Plutarch*'s imperfect knowledge of it [2].

But the moſt deciſive teſtimony in the caſe, is that of *Plutarch* himſelf, who confeſſes the very fact, that I affirm, in *the Life of Alexander*, which he begins with theſe words.

“ As I am drawing up in this volume *the lives of Alexander* “ *and of Cæſar*, ſo I ſhall premiſe nothing more, on account “ of the number of their great actions, but onely entreat the “ reader, not to cavil or find fault with me, if I do not deſcribe “ all their celebrated acts, nor even the particular ones, with “ any exactneſs; but cut ſhort the greateſt part of them; “ ſince I do not pretend to write *hiſtories* but *lives*. Nor does “ the illuſtration of men's virtues or vices depend always “ on their moſt conſpicuous acts; but a little fact, or “ ſaying, or jeſt has often given a clearer diſcovery of their “ real temper and manners, than their moſt bloody battels, “ moſt famous engagements and ſieges. As Painters therefore “ draw the likeneſſes of perſons from the features of the face “ and countenance, by which their manners are chiefly diſ-“ cerned, and pay very little regard to the other parts of the

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[1] See Pref. to the Life of Cic. p. 24.

[2] Hiſt. de L'Academ. Royal. des Inſcript Tom. 5. p. 169. &c.

“ body ;

" body; ſo it muſt be allowed likewiſe to me, to attend princi-
" pally to the indications of the mind; and from theſe to form
" the picture of each man's life, leaving their great actions
" and atchievements to be deſcribed by others."

—This was the maxim, that *Plutarch* conſtantly purſued; and which makes him ſo full every where of *the apophthegms* and *jeſts* of his Heroes [1]; overlooking at the ſame time their moſt celebrated actions; or treating them at leaſt in a ſlight and ſummary way; and, as he himſelf profeſſes, without any kind of accuracy: of which there are infinite examples in all thoſe lives. I ſhall trouble the reader with one or two, which relate to our preſent ſubject, and are drawn from the ſame page, whence our Critic has borrowed one of his *notable* teſtimonies, which have given him this occaſion to inſiſt upon the accuracy, and authority of *Plutarch*, who in his *Life of Cicero*, after an account of *Cicero*'s return to *Rome*, from his intended voyage to *Greece*, and of the open quarrel, which then firſt broke out between him and *Antony*, goes on to ſay.

" From this time, whenever they met, they paſſed by each
" other, without any mark of reſpect, and kept themſelves
" upon their guard: till young *Octavius*, arriving from *Apollonia*,
" took poſſeſſion of the inheritance of his uncle *Cæſar*,
" and entered into a controverſy with *Antony*, about 2500
" myriads, which he detained of that eſtate. Upon which
" *Philippus*, who had married his mother, and *Marcellus*, who
" married his ſiſter, bringing the young man with them to *Cicero*,
" made an agreement with him; that *Cicero* ſhould aſſiſt

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[1] In *the Life of Cato the Elder*, " I " will relate, ſays he, a few of his ſayings, that are ſtill remembered, as being one of thoſe, who contend, that the " manners of men are diſcovered much " more eaſily by their words, than by " their countenances, &c." p. 340.

“ *Octavius* with all the power of his eloquence and civil “ authority, both in the Senate and with the people; and that “ *Octavius* ſhould afford *Cicero* the ſupport of his money and “ troops: for the youth had already gathered about him a great “ number of veterans, who had ſerved under *Cæſar*; and “ *Cicero* ſeemed very willing to embrace his friendſhip [1].”

Now in this ſummary account of the moſt conſiderable and critical paſſages in *Cicero*'s life, we ſee all the proofs of negligence and inaccuracy, that a writer could poſſibly give, within ſo ſmall a compaſs. For in opening the grounds of *Cicero*'s breach with *Antony*, he ſays not a ſyllable of *Cicero's firſt Philippic*, which was ſpoken at that very time, and was the foundation of that breach. Then he makes *Octavius*'s arrival from *Apollonia* to happen after *Cicero*'s rupture with *Antony*, which was in the beginning *of September*; whereas we know from the letters to *Atticus* that *Octavius* arrived at *Naples*, on *the* 18*th of April*; went the next morning to the Villa of his Father *Philippus*; whence he was introduced preſently to *Cicero* in his *Cuman Villa*, adjoining to that of *Philippus*; where *Balbus*, *Hirtius*, and *Panſa* were with *Cicero* [2]: and though from this firſt interview, *Octavius* paid all imaginable court to *Cicero*, and ſollicited him afterwards by letters and meſſages, to take his affairs under his protection; yet *Cicero* conſtantly declined it, and would not enter into any agreement with him, till *the November* following; when it was brought about at laſt by the mediation of *Oppius* [3]. Yet all this, which was the work of ſeven months, *Plutarch* repreſents, as concluded at their firſt meeting, and at *Rome*, and by the interpoſition of *Philippus* and *Marcellus*.

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[1] Plut. in Cicero. p. 883.

[2] Ep. ad Att. 14. 10, 11.

[3] Ep. ad Att. l. 16. 15.

The ſame page affords ſtill a more glaring proof, of *Plutarch*'s negligent manner of huddling over the great events of hiſtory. For, after the paſſage cited above, relating to *Brutus*'s reproof of *Cicero*, in his letter to *Atticus*, he ſays; “ yet for all “ this, *Brutus* finding *Cicero*'s ſon at *Athens*, gave him a command in his troops, and by his ſervices gained many advantages againſt the enemy: and *Cicero*'s power at that “ time was at it's greateſt heigth in the City; where he did “ whatever he pleaſed; raiſed up a party againſt *Antony* and “ drove him out of *Rome*; ſent away the two Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, to make war upon him; perſuaded the Se“ nate to decree to *Octavius*, the rank and enſigns of a Prætor, “ as having taken up arms in the defence of his country: but “ when *Antony* was beaten, and the two Conſuls killed in the “ battle, then all their forces went over to *Octavius*, &c.” [1]

Here again we ſee the tranſactions of many months, the moſt important, not onely in *Cicero*'s life, but in *the whole Roman hiſtory*, in which *Cicero* made the moſt ſhining figure, and ſpoke all his *Philippic* orations, huddled over within the compaſs of a few lines; without any regard to time, or order, juſt as *Plutarch* happened to think of them; and in the manner, that we might expect from his own account of the deſign and method, which he purſued in that work.

These teſtimonies, I am perſuaded, will juſtify the judgement, that I have given of *Plutarch* as a *Roman Hiſtorian*; which inſtead of flowing from any *contempt* of him, with which our Critic unjuſtly charges me [2], is nothing more in effect, than what he himſelf has declared; and what every one, who reads him without the prepoſſeſſion of an Hypotheſis, will neceſſarily obſerve from innumerable facts and inſtances.

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[1] Plut. in Cicer. 883.

[2] Miror, te *Plutarcho*, quem tamen contemnis. Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 30.

I cannot however quit this fruitful page, without adding one remark more, not upon *Plutarch*'s negligence, but our *Critic*'s; to ſay no worſe of it; who affirms, that *the two Epiſtles of Brutus, to which Plutarch* refers, were written *before Brutus left Italy*; *for this,* ſays he, *is not onely manifeſt from the context, but Plutarch himſelf expreſſly declares it* [1]. Yet in the account already given of one of thoſe Epiſtles, *Plutarch*, as we have ſeen, ſays not a ſyllable about the time of it; and the context is ſo far from ſhewing it to be written, *while Brutus was in Italy*, that, from the facts and circumſtances annexed, it clearly ſhews the contrary; that it was written, when *Brutus was employing Cicero's ſon in the command of his troops in Macedonia*; *while Cicero himſelf was in the heigth of his power at Rome*; *after he had driven away Antony*; *ſent the two Conſuls after him*; *and decreed the Prætorian enſigns to Octavius:* all which did not happen, till many months after *Brutus had quitted Italy*. Nor is our Critic's aſſertion true, with regard to the other letter; for though the context ſeems to imply, that it was written *by Brutus in Italy*; yet *Plutarch* ſays nothing directly about the time of it. Should we allow then all the weight, that can be given to theſe two *notable* teſtimonies; ſhould we grant them to be both accurate and deciſive; yet they amount to no more than this; that, as far as we may gueſs from the context, one of the letters was written in *Italy*; the other in *Macedonia*; yet in neither caſe, though our Critic affirms it of both, does *Plutarch*

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[1] Nimirum Epiſtolæ, de quibus *Plutarchus* loquitur, ſcriptæ ſunt, dum *Brutus* adhuc in Italia conſiſtebat. Id ex hiſtoriæ contextu manifeſtum eſt; ſed & idem diſerte dicit. ibid. p. 196.

tarch ſay expreſſly, either when, or where they were written. He calls the Epiſtle indeed to *Cicero*, *Brutus's firſt Epiſtle*; though it was certainly later than the other to *Atticus*; but that they were *both written from Macedonia*, is demonſtrably evident, as I ſhall ſhew by and by; though *Plutarch*, according to his uſual negligence, and as far as his authority reaches, has made both the place, and the time of them uncertain.

But though *Plutarch*'s authority be of little force in this queſtion, I have another authority to combat, on which our Critic perhaps may lay a greater ſtreſs; that is, his own: for he declares it to be *his abſolute opinion, that the two original letters, which Plutarch had ſeen, were written before Brutus left Italy* [1]: becauſe, there *were ſubſtantial reaſons before that time, for ſuſpecting Octavius*; *and for cenſuring Cicero's inconſiderate raſhneſs, in making him ſo great* [2].

It is ſurprizing, that a man, who has made any ſtudy of *the Epiſtles to Atticus*, can declare ſuch an opinion, which is directly confuted by a ſeries of thoſe very Epiſtles. But the foundation of his Hypotheſis muſt be deſtroyed, if this point cannot be made good, that *the original letters between Cicero and Brutus* were written at *a different time*, from *the letters now extant*; and all regard to facts, and to *Cicero*'s character muſt be ſacrificed to the ſupport of this favorite Hypotheſis. But a few extracts from the letters themſelves will clear up the matter, and let the reader ſee with what judgement, as well as modeſty, he ſo freely and frequently charges *Cicero*, with an *inconſiderate*

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[1] Atque hoc quidem tempore ipſo, *Brutum*, inſignes illas Epiſtolas, & ad *Atticum* & ad *Ciceronem*, de quibus *Plutarchus* narrat, ſcripſiſſe, omnino exiſtimo. Tunſt. Ep. p. 200.

[2] Inconſultam in *Octavio* augendo *Ciceronis* temeritatem, juſtiſſimaſque adeo *Bruti* objurgationes. ibid. 197.

raſhneſs, and marvellous eagerneſs, in eſpouſing the intereſts of *Octavius, from the firſt moment of his landing at Naples* [1].

In the firſt letter, in which *Cicero* mentions *Octavius*, he ſays; " *Octavius* arrived at *Naples* on the 18th of April; whither " *Balbus* went to him early the next morning, and came back " the ſame day to me, in my *Cuman* villa; and brings word, " that he will aſſert his right of ſucceſſion to his uncle. But " this, as you write, will make a rare diſpute between him " and *Antony* [2]."

In the ſecond; " *Balbus*, *Hirtius* and *Panſa* are here with " me: *Octavius* is juſt arrived, and into the neighbouring " villa of his Father *Philippus*; intirely at my devotion [3]."

In the third, dated April the 22d; " *Octavius*, who is ſtill " with us, treats me with the greateſt reſpect and friendſhip; " his domeſtics give him the name of *Cæſar*; *Philippus* does " not; nor for that reaſon do I. I think it impoſſible for " him, to make a good Citizen; there are ſo many about " him, who threaten the death of our friends, and declare, that what they have done, cannot be forgiven. What " will be the caſe, think you, when the boy comes to *Rome*, " where our deliverers cannot appear with ſafety? Who yet " muſt ever be famous, nay happy too, in the conſciouſneſs " of their act; but as for us, if I be not deceived, we ſhall " be undone. I long therefore to go abroad, where I may " hear no more of theſe *Pelopidæ*, &c. [4]."

This is all that paſſed between *Cicero* and *Octavius*, while he continued in the country, at his Father *Philippus*'s villa. But he ſoon went to *Rome*, to purſue his claim to *Cæſar*'s eſtate, as his heir and adopted ſon; and to entertain the people with [illegible] plays, which *Cæſar* himſelf had promiſed, and prepared to give in his life time, upon the completion of all his victories. At *Rome*, *Octavius* made a ſpeech to the people from the *Roſtra*; where he ſeems to have been produced by *Antony*'s Brother, *Lucius*, one of the Tribuns [1]. This ſpeech was ſent to *Cicero*, who ſays, *that he had the ſame opinion of it with Atticus*; which was no advantageous one: ſince, in the ſame letter, he declares himſelf diſpleaſed with *Octavius's ſhews, and with his friends Matius, and Poſtumius, for undertaking the care of them* [2]: and in another letter, applauds the Tribuns, for ordering *Cæſar's golden chair* to be removed out of the Theater, where *Octavius* ſeems to have placed it; and the Knights alſo, for expreſſing their approbation of that act, by ſome general clap [3]. This happened about the middle of May; and towards the end of it, while *Antony* and *Octavius* were quarrelling at *Rome*, about the poſſeſſion of *Cæſar*'s eſtate, *Cicero* writing again to *Atticus*, ſays;

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[1] Et ſane ex quo *Octavius Neapolim* primus venit, *Cicero* juvenis amplectendi mira cupiditate ferebatur, & ut *Plutarchus* dicit, τὰ τȣ̃ Καίσαρος ἔπραττε. ib. 190.

[2] Ep. ad Att. 14. 10.

[3] Ibid. 11.

[4] Ep. ad Att. 14. 12.

" *Octavius*, as I clearly ſaw, has parts and courage
" enough; and ſeems likely to be affected, as we could wiſh,
" towards our Heroes: but how far we may truſt his age,
" name, ſucceſſion, education, is a matter of great delibera-
" tion. His Father-in-law, whom I ſaw at *Aſtura*, thinks,
" not at all. He muſt be cheriſhed however, if for nothing
" elſe, yet to keep him at a diſtance from *Antony*. *Marcellus*
" acts nobly, if he inſtills into him a good diſpoſition towards
" our friends. He ſeemed to be much influenced by him;

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[1] Ibid. 14. 20.

[2] De *Octavii* concione idem ſentio, quod tu, & *Matius* & *Poſtumius* mihi procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

[3] De *Sella Cæſaris* bene Tribuni, præclaros etiam xiv. ordines. ibid. 3.

“ but to have no confidence in *Panſa* and *Hirtius*: his natu-
“ ral temper is good, if it does but hold [1].”

Now this is the whole, that *Cicero* either tranſacted, or declared, or thought of *Octavius*, *before Brutus left Italy*, as it manifeſtly appears from the letters to *Atticus*: which is ſo far from ſhewing that *inconſiderate raſhneſs, and marvellous eagerneſs*, with which our Critic charges him, that it ſhews juſt the contrary; the utmoſt caution and reſerve; and ſuch a diſtruſt of *Octavius*, as neither the greateſt civilities on *Octavius*'s part, nor the good opinion which *Cicero* had conceived of his capacity could over-rule.

Nor had *Cicero* indeed as yet broken all meaſures with *Antony*; for though he ſtrongly diſliked and ſuſpected his proceedings, yet for ſeveral prudential reaſons, he choſe to keep up a ſhew of friendſhip and fair correſpondence with him; and had undertaken at this very time, to ſollicit him in perſon on the behalf of *Atticus*, in an affair, which *Atticus* had much at heart [2]. *Antony* likewiſe obſerved the ſame forms of civility on his part; and wrote in very complaiſant terms to *Cicero*, *to deſire his conſent to the reſtoration of* S. *Clodius from exil* [3]: and upon ſome alarm, given afterwards to the friends of liberty, on the account of a diviſion of lands in *Italy* to *Antony*'s Soldiers, *Antony*'s Brother, *Lucius*, wrote particularly to *Cicero*, to free him from any apprehenſions on that head [4].

Cicero however was ſo little pleaſed, either with *Antony* or *Octavius*, or with any thing indeed, that was now going forward in *Italy*, that inſtead of any eagerneſs to embrace *Octa-*

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[1] Ep. ad Attic. 15. 12.

[2] De Buthortio negotio, utinam quidem *Antonium* conveniam: multum quidem proficiam. Ad Atticum, 14. 17. it. 15. 1, 2.

[3] Ep. ad Att. 14. 13.

[4] L. quidem *Antonius* liberaliter litteris ſine cura me eſſet jubet. ib. 15. 12.

vius at this time, he took a reſolution of making a voyage to *Greece*, and of reſiding with his Son at *Athens*, till *Hirtius* and *Panſa* ſhould enter upon the Conſulſhip on the firſt day of the next year; on whoſe adminiſtration he had now placed all his hopes. In the beginning therefore of *July*, he ſet forward upon this voyage, and purſued it as far as *Sicily*; but being driven back by contrary winds to *Rhegium*, and meeting there with ſome freſh intelligence from *Rome*, of an unexpected turn of affairs, and a change of diſpoſition in *Antony* to meaſures of peace, and ſubmiſſion to the Senate, he dropt all farther thoughts of the voyage, and turned back towards *Rome*, to aſſiſt with his authority in bringing about ſo deſirable an end. But upon his arrival there, finding his hopes fruſtrated, and that *Antony* was aiming at nothing leſs than a Tyranny, and the Subverſion of the Republic, he ſpoke his firſt *Philippic*, on *the 2d of September*, which gave the beginning to that inexpiable quarrel, which ſoon after enſued between him and *Antony* [1].

Brutus in the mean while left *Italy*; and could have no reaſon therefore before his departure, to blame *Cicero*, on the account of *Octavius*; ſince at that time, *Cicero* had not taken any ſtep in favour of him, nor, in all probability, had ſo much as ſeen him, from the time of their firſt interview: and as *Brutus* had no reaſon to complain of *Cicero*, during his ſtay in *Italy*, ſo it is evident from the ſame letters to *Atticus*, that in fact, he did not complain of him, either on the account of *Octavius*, or any other account whatſoever. For during this interval, from the arrival of *Octavius*, to the departure of *Brutus*, there was a continual exchange of letters and meſſages between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, of which frequent mention is made in the Epiſtles to

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[1] See the Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 309—315, &c.

Atticus.

Atticus [1]. In one of which Epiſtles, *I am glad*, ſays *Cicero*, *that my letters to Brutus and Caſſius were agreeable to them* [2]: and in another; *Oh! how affectionate was Brutus's* [illegible] *to me* [3]? Whence we may collect, that *Brutus*, who uſed generally to be rough and haughty in his letters, was now particularly complaiſant, from a juſt ſenſe of *Cicero*'s zeal and ſervices to him. Nay, he appears to have been ſo cautious at this time of offending *Cicero* in any degree, that though he ſtrongly diſliked his *voyage to Greece*, yet he reſolved to be ſilent on that ſubject, and would not drop a ſyllable, either to diſcourage or diſſuade it, from an unwillingneſs to preſs him, to any thing diſagreeable [4].

But beſides a conſtant intercourſe of letters, they had many perſonal conferences within the ſame interval, and chiefly at *Brutus*'s deſire; which all paſſed with the greateſt affection and harmony. *Cicero* ſaw him at *Lanuvium* [5]; again at *Antium* [6]; afterwards in *Neſis*, a little Iſle on the Campanian coaſt, where he converſed with him many days ſucceſſively [7]; and laſtly at *Velia*, as he came back from his *Grecian* voyage: where *Brutus* no ſooner heard of his arrival, than *he came three miles on foot* to embrace him; expreſſed the utmoſt joy at his return; and told him in the kindeſt manner, what he did not care to mention to him before, that by dropping the purſuit of the voyage he had eſcaped two imputations on his character; the one, *of too haſty a deſpair and deſertion of the common cauſe*;

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[1] Epiſt. ad Att. l. 14. 18, 19, 20. l. 15. 1, 4, 5, 10, 23, 26, 29, &c.

[2] Gratas fuiſſe meas litteras *Bruto* & *Caſſio* gaudeo, itaque iis reſcripſi. Ad Att. 14. 20.

[3] O *Bruti* amanter ſcriptas litteras! ibid. 15. 10.

[4] *Brutus*—effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat; ut recordarer illud tuum; *nam Brutus noſter ſilet*. ib. 16. 7.

[5] Ad Att. 15. 20.

[6] Ib. 15. 11.

[7] Ib. 16. 1, 2, 4, 5.

the other, *of the vanity of going to ſee the Olympic games* [1]: but in none of theſe conferences, was there the leaſt hint of any expoſtulation, or ill humour, with regard to *Octavius*.

The interview at *Velia* was the laſt which *Cicero* ever had with *Brutus*, on the 17th of Auguſt [2]: when he left him prepared, and ready to ſail with his fleet towards *Greece*; as he undoubtedly did within a few days after. For he had already ſtaid longer, than his friends thought adviſeable; waiting ſtill to ſee, *whether chance might not produce ſomething in his favor at Rome*; eſpecially *upon the occaſion of the ſhews*, which he had lately exhibited there, with the univerſal applauſe of the people [3].

Now this is the whole ſtate of *Cicero*'s conduct towards *Octavius*, during the time of *Brutus*'s *ſtay in Italy*. As to what paſſed afterwards, ſince it does not relate to our preſent argument, I ſhall refer the reader to *my Life of Cicero*; where he will find, that notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing inſtances of *Octavius*, by daily letters and meſſages, to engage *Cicero* to aſſiſt him againſt their common enemy, *Antony*; yet *Cicero* ſtill held off, and expreſſed the ſame diffidence as before, till the exigencies of the Republic, and the immediate ruin threatned to it by *Antony*, made their union neceſſary: To which *Cicero* would not conſent even at the laſt, but upon the expreſs condition, that *Octavius ſhould engage himſelf to be a friend to Brutus and his accomplices*; *and as a proof of his ſincerity*, *ſhould ſuf-*

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[1] Ib. 16. 7.

[2] Nam xvi Kal. Sept. cum veniſſem *Veliam*. ibid.

[3] Illud mihi ſubmoleſtum, quod parum *Brutus* properare videtur. Primum confectorum ludorum nuncios expectat. ibid. 16. 4. Exiſtimabam μετεωρότερον eſſe; & hercule erat; & maxime de ludis. At mihi, cum ad villam rediiſſem, *Cn. Lucceius*, qui multum utitur *Bruto*, narravit, illum valde morari, non tergiverſantem, ſed expectantem, ſi qui forte caſus. ibid. 16. 5.

fer

for Caſca, who gave the firſt blow to Cæſar, to enter quietly into the Tribunate, to which he had been nominated by *Cæſar* [1]; which *Octavius* readily agreed to, and permitted accordingly, on *the 10th of December:* and in conſequence of that agreement, *Cicero*, on *the 19th* of the ſame month, firſt recommended him to the Senate, and to the people, in a diſtinct ſpeech to each [2]; and on *the firſt of January*, procured a decree, to inveſt him with the legal command of his troops; together with the rank and enſigns of a Prætor [3]. Theſe were the firſt public meaſures, that *Cicero* entered into with relation to *Octavius*; and the foundation of what *Brutus* took occaſion to reproach him with many months after. For, as I have ſhewn in the Life of *Cicero*, he never began to complain of him, till after *Antony's defeat at Modena*, and *the death of the two Conſuls*; which was an accident, that *Cicero* could neither foreſee nor provide for; and was the ſole reaſon of throwing all that power into *Octavius*'s hands, by which he was enabled to deſtroy the Republic [4]. And this fact is not onely declared in theſe ſuſpected letters, but is intimated likewiſe in the letters, which *Plutarch* had ſeen, and in one of the very paſſages, which our Critic has produced; as he might eaſily have obſerved, if he had come to it without prejudice: for *Brutus*, in his reproof of *Cicero*, plainly ſuppoſes, that *Cicero* had already *got the better* of Antony, and *diſpoſſeſſed him of his Tyranny*, yet, by his management, [illegible] *raiſing up Octavius into his place, and making him the Tyrant in Antony's ſtead* [1].

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[1] Sed, ut ſcribis, certiſſimum eſſe video diſcrimen, *Caſcæ* noſtri Tribunatum. De quo quidem ipſo dixi *Oppio*, cum me hortaretur, ut adoleſcentem, totamque cauſſam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere poſſe, ni mihi exploratum eſſet, eum non modo non inimicum Tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore. Cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur feſtinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kalendas Januarias nihil opus eſt. Nos autem ejus voluntatem ante *Idus Decemb.* perſpiciemus in *Caſca*. Mihi valde aſſenſus eſt. Ad Att. 16. 15.

[2] Theſe were his 3d and 4th *Philippic* Orations.

[3] See his 5th *Philippic*.

[4] See the Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 432.

But if this hint be not ſufficient to ſatisfy our Critic, I can give him another, from the ſame *Plutarch*, and the ſame Life of *Brutus*, which is a clear comment upon it, and marks out the preciſe time, when *Brutus* firſt conceived his apprehenſions of *Octavius*'s *power*, and began conſequently *to expoſtulate with Cicero*, by whoſe help he had been advanced to it. For *Plutarch*, after a brief detail of *Brutus*'s ſucceſs and exploits in *Macedonia*, tells us, " that when he was preparing to go from " thence into *Aſia*, he received the news of the change of their " affairs at *Rome:* where young *Octavius*, who had hitherto " been cheriſhed and ſupported by the Senate in oppoſition to " *Antony*, having now driven *Antony out of Italy*, was become " formidable himſelf. For he laid claim to the Conſulſhip, in " defiance of the laws; and kept about him great armies, " which the City did not want [2]." Thus I have ſhewn, in contradiction to our Critic's declared perſuaſion, and by that very authority, on which he lays ſo great a ſtreſs, that *Brutus*'s *real letters*, as it is expreſſly delivered in *theſe ſuſpected ones*, were written from *Macedonia*, ſome time after the battle of *Modena*; and many months after *Brutus* himſelf had left *Italy*.

I cannot diſmiſs this argument, without taking notice of a cenſure, that our Critic here throws out, upon the uſe of a teſtimony, which I had produced, to ſhew *Cicero*'s ſtrong ſuſpicions of *Octavius*, even *after Brutus's departure out of Italy*. It is taken from a letter to *Atticus*, where *Cicero* ſays; as to what you wrote, *I warmly aſſent to you, that if ever O*[illegible] *acquire any great power, the Tyrant's acts will be more ſtrongly* [illegible] *they were in the Temple of Tellus; and that will be all* [illegible] *Brutus*, &c. [1]. Now can any opinion be more explicitely declared, than this is declared here to be *Cicero*'s? But *Atticus*, it ſeems, had ſignified it before to be his; and if twenty people had ſignified the ſame, it would be *Cicero*'s no leſs, for all that; whoſe opinion was the oncly one, that had any relation to my ſubject. Yet our Critic plainly charges me, with a miſapplication of this teſtimony, in aſcribing a ſentiment to *Cicero*, which really belonged to *Atticus* [2]: and it is by ſuch quibbles as theſe, that he attempts moſt commonly through his whole Epiſtle, to combat clear facts and direct proofs.

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[1] Τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ, τὸν κάισαρα καταστῆσαι τύραννον. Plut. in Brut. p. 994.

[2] Plut. in Brut. p. 996.

He procedes next, to the examination of the Epiſtles themſelves, and begins with *Brutus*'s Epiſtle to *Atticus*, which he allows to be *really a fine one* [3]: but after a ſmall cavil or two by way of prelude, he diſcovers in it two contradictions to true hiſtory: the firſt is this; that *Cicero* is there accuſed *of cenſuring the act of killing Cæſar, and of reproaching Caſca for it, as an aſſaſſin:* whereas *the genuine Cicero conſtantly applauded that act, and had a particular friendſhip likewiſe with Caſca* [4]. But of this I have given ſome account already in the Life of *Cicero*; and ſhall add ſomething more in my notes on the Epiſtle itſelf; to which therefore I muſt refer the reader [5].

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[1] Valde tibi aſſentior, ſi multum poſſit *Octavius*, multo firmius acta Tyranni comprobatum iri, quam in *Telluris*. Atque id contra *Brutum* fore. Ad Att. 16. 14.

[2] Nuperrime ita ſcripſerat *Atticus*, quæ tamen *Ciceroni* attribuis. Tunſt. p. 198.

[3] Venio ad Epiſtolas, atque ad illam imprimis ad *Atticum* ſane bellulam. Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 200. See Let. 15.

[4] Ibid. 201, 202.

[5] See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 487. Not. and Let. 15. Not. 3.

The ſecond contradiction is grounded on a hint, that *Brutus* drops in the end of the letter, concerning *certain conditions* offered to *Atticus*'s daughter, which he interprets, with *Manutius*, *of the conditions of a marriage*; and then declares, that *Attica was but ſeven years old at this time* [1], *and could not therefore be ripe* for marriage; *being born*, he ſays, *when Cicero was Proconſul of Cilicia, whence he congratulated Atticus by letter upon that birth*, in the following words; *Filiolam tuam tibi jam Romæ jucundam eſſe gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem eſſe certo ſcio* [2]: which I tranſlate thus; *I am glad, that your little daughter is ſo good company to you now at Rome; and though I never ſaw her, yet I love her, and am very ſure, that ſhe is lovely.* In which words, though our Critic diſcovers the clear proof of *a birth, and a congratulation* upon it, yet I cannot ſee the leaſt tittle of either; or the leaſt probability, that they can admit any ſuch interpretation.

Atticus had been married above five years [3]; and it is not credible, that *Cicero*, who was at his wedding, and particularly intereſted in every thing, that related to him, ſhould pay ſo cold a compliment upon ſo joyful an occaſion, as the birth of *a firſt child, after five years* of marriage. The caſe therefore was this, that the daughter, who was now probably four years old, had been nurſed all that while in the country, for the greater care of her health, at a diſtance from *Rome*, whither ſhe had been lately brought for the firſt time; which gave occaſion to this little compliment: or otherwiſe why ſhould *her being at Rome* be taken notice of; as if to be born there was of any conſequence, or a circumſtance worth mentioning in a congratulation of that ſort? and this interpretation ſeems to be demonſtrably confirmed by another letter, written a ſhort time after, from the ſame province of *Cilicia*; in which *Cicero* ſays; *your little daughter is very obliging, in giving you ſo ſtrict a charge, to pay her compliments to me* [1]. Which cannot be underſtood of a child, who was but *five months* old; yet ſo it muſt be underſtood, if our Critic's account be admitted, of the time of her birth.

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[1] Sed hoc tempore *Attica* ætatis annum ſeptimum paucis menſibus exceſſerat, nam, &c. Tunſt. Ep. p. 203.

[2] Ad Att. 5. 19. Tunſt. Ep. 203.

[3 See Life of Cic. vol. 1. p. 450.

I could produce more teſtimonies to the ſame purpoſe and from the ſame letters, if this was not ſufficient to ſhew his objection to be wholly groundleſs. But from the frequent diſcoveries of this ſort, with which he entertains us from the letters to *Atticus*, we may ſee, with what reaſon he inſults me, for contenting myſelf with *the obvious and common ſenſe of them*, inſtead of ſearching always, like him, for *ſomething exquiſite and refined* [2].

As to the other Epiſtle of *Brutus* to *Cicero*, our Critic, after giving it the fineſt character, that can be given of an Epiſtle, both for the art *of it's compoſition and gravity of it's ſentiments* [3], leaves it to us, juſt as he found it, without any other reflection than that it contains nothing hiſtorical. Since this then is ſo perfect a piece, and ſo worthy conſequently of it's author, that he can neither find, nor invent an objection to it, we muſt neceſſarily claim it as genuin, whatever may become of the reſt. For an immemorial poſſeſſion, which no body controverts, will ſurely give us a right to hold this fine Epiſtle at leaſt, as an unqueſtionable monument of pure antiquity.

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[1] Filiola tua gratum mihi fecit, quod tibi diligenter mandavit, ut mihi ſalutem, aſcriberes, &c. Ad Att. 6. 1. p. 591.

[2] Hic a te, viro ingenioſo, exquiſitiora quædam expectavi, communia tamen invenio. Tunſt. Ep. p. 31.

[3] Jam illa altera Epiſtola omnes alias & compoſitionis artificio, & ſententiarum gravitate exſuperat &c. ib. p. 203, Epiſt. 22.

He procedes to *Cicero*'s celebrated letter, or apology for himſelf in anſwer to *Brutus*; where after ſome trifling exceptions to the character given of *Meſſala*, in which he diſcovers *the operoſe diligence of the Sophiſt*, he ſtarts an objection *of more weight*, as he calls it [1], becauſe *the ſuſpected Cicero* here praiſes *Meſſala*, for having ſtudied and acquired *the beſt manner of ſpeaking*; whereas there had been a diſpute, he tells us, between *the true Cicero and Brutus*, about *that beſt manner, which the Sophiſt muſt needs have been ignorant of, or he would never have touched upon that topic.* It is hard to conceive, what it is that he means by this objection; or what weight he can ſuppoſe it to have, towards overthrowing the credit of the letter. If he imagines, that *Brutus* would have been affronted by *Cicero*'s mention of *the beſt manner*, becauſe they had each a different idea of it; or that he would have thought the worſe of *Meſſala*, for ſtudying that manner, which *Cicero* recommended; he judges very weakly of thoſe great men: for notwithſtanding their different notions of the *moſt perfect eloquence, or manner of ſpeaking*, *Brutus* certainly allowed *Cicero* to be the beſt Speaker of his age: and it was at his deſire, and for his information, that *Cicero* drew up thoſe Oratorial pieces, in which he illuſtrates his own idea of the moſt perfect way of ſpeaking; and lays down rules for the attainment of it: as this then is a cavil of no force or ſenſe, I ſhall drop it where I found it, and paſs on to the reſt.

He next obſerves, that this letter ſuppoſes *M. Brutus to be the author of ſaving Antony's life, when Cæſar was killed*; which he declares to be contrary to true Hiſtory, ſince *Deci-*

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[1] Quis hic non videt operoſam Sophiſtæ diligentiam? quod autem majus eſt. &c. Tunſt. Ep. 204. See Lett. 21.

mus Brutus, as he undertakes to prove, was *the ſole adviſer of that ſtep* : and to make us ſenſible, what an extraordinary exploit he is going to perform; by correcting an inveterate error of all the old Hiſtorians; he firſt produces two *famous* teſtimonies, as he calls them from *Plutarch* and *Appian*, which expreſsly aſcribe that counſil to *M. Brutus* [1] : upon which he declares, with his uſual gayety, *that it could not be expected from the Sophiſt, that he ſhould be wiſer, than the Hiſtorians, who led him into that miſtake* [2]. This is a ſtrange turn indeed! the Sophiſt muſt be excuſed, and the whole blame thrown upon *Plutarch* : and after he has been fighting ſo ſtrenuouſly for *Plutarch*'s *authority*, yet now, when he has no occaſion for it, he treats it, we ſee, as a mere *ignis fatuus*, that ſerves onely to lead people out of the way.

He promiſes however to make good this point, by the teſtimony of *Cicero* himſelf; and for that purpoſe alledges two paſſages from the letters to *Atticus*; where *Cicero* complaining of the miſery of the times, after *Cæſar*'s death, and how much they endured, and were like to endure from *Antony*, ſays, *the fault of all this lies upon one of the Brutus's* [3]. And in another letter, *the whole blame of this belongs to Brutus* [4]. Thus far then we are agreed; that from the evidence of theſe paſſages, the blame muſt certainly reſt upon *one of the Brutus's* : but before we go farther, let us pauſe a while, and conſider, on which ſide the probability lies.

In the firſt place, wherever *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*, mentions *Brutus* abſolutely, or without a prænomen, we may take it for granted, that he means *Marcus*; ſince there is not, I believe, a ſingle inſtance to the contrary, except where *Decimus* is ſo marked out by the context, that we cannot poſſibly miſtake him: and in the ſecond teſtimony, it is manifeſt, that he could not mean any body, but *Marcus*; for within a line or two after, ſpeaking ſtill of *the ſame Brutus* he declares him *to be leaving Italy quickly* [1]; which determines it to *Marcus*. Beſides, if we reflect on the different characters *of the two Brutus's*, we ſhould be apt to conclude at once, that it muſt needs be *Marcus*, whoſe authority was able to bring over *Caſſius*, and ſixty more brave men to his ſingle opinion. But if *Cicero* had onely left the thing indifferent, and in common; yet *Plutarch*'s poſitive and repeated teſtimony, confirmed not onely by *Appian*, but by a better Author than them both, *Paterculus*, who had long before affirmed the ſame thing of *Marcus* [2], would naturally make us look upon the fact as certain, and the queſtion decided. Yet all this ſignifies nothing to our Critic, who procedes boldly, by a third teſtimony, to fix the whole blame at laſt upon *Decimus*.

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[1] Inſignia in hanc ſenteniam ſunt verba Plutarchi—in Brut. 992. it. in Anton. 921. & Appian. p. 499. ibid. 206. in Notis.

[2] A *Cicerone* nimirum perſonato requirendum non erat, ut plus iis, quos ſequeretur Hiſtoricis, ſaperet. Tunſt. Ep. p. 206.

[3] Ad Att. l. 15. 12.

[4] Ib. 20. Hæc omnis culpa Bruti.

This third teſtimony is drawn from another letter to *Atticus*; where *Cicero*, giving an account of the conference which he had at *Antium*, with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, concerning the meaſures, which they ought to purſue, ſays; that *after much diſcourſe on that ſubject, the company began to lament their paſt miſtakes, and Caſſius above all warmly complained, that they had loſt their*

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[1] Properemus igitur. Sed juva me conſilio, *Brundiſione* an *Puteolis*. *Brutus* quidem ſubito: ſed ſapienter, &c. Ad Att. 15. 20.

[2] Cum Conſul *Antonius* (quem cum ſimul interimendum cenſuiſſet *Caſſius*) —*Brutus* repugnaverat; dictitans, nihil amplius civibus præter Tyranni—petendum eſſe ſanguinem. l. 2. 58.

opportunities, and blamed Decimus ſeverely on that account [1]. Now our Critic, who never loſes ſight of his Hypotheſis, declares this *loſs of opportunities,* charged upon *Decimus,* to mean nothing elſe, but *the omiſſion of killing Antony* [1] *:* and this is his conſtant way of ſupporting his diſcoveries; by multiplying conjectures, inſtead of teſtimonies, and proving one Hypotheſis by another. For there were many other opportunities, which they loſt, after *Cæſar*'s death, that *Cicero* preſſed them to lay hold of, and for the omiſſion of which he frequently reproved them: *that they did not ſummon the Senate into the Capitol, on that firſt day; and during the conſternation of their enemies, ſeize the whole Republick into their hands; and procede to ſome vigorous decrees for the eſtabliſhment of the publick liberty* [3]. And when by the neglect of that advice they were driven ſoon after out of *Rome*; they loſt the opportunity of retrieving their firſt error by reſolving to live quiet and retired, ſo as to give no pretext for war; diſmiſſing the concourſe of their friends, who flocked about them, and rejecting the aſſiſtance of all *Italy,* which was eager to arm itſelf in their cauſe.

Theſe were the loſt opportunities, which *Caſſius* lamented, and charged to the account of *Decimus:* who, when *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had withdrawn themſelves from *Rome,* on account of the tumults, occaſioned by *Cæſar*'s *funeral,* continued ſtill privately in the City, to negotiate with *Antony,* by the mediation of *Hirtius,* ſome meaſures for their common ſafety.

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[1] Multo inde ſermone querebantur atque id quidem *Caſſius* maxime, amiſſas occaſiones; *Decimumque* graviter accuſabat. Ad Att. 15. 11.

[2] Tunſt. Ep. page 207.

[3] Meminiſti me clamare, illo ipſo primo die Capitolino, Senatum, in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis—fractis latronibus?—Ad Att. 14. 10.

Illam Seſſionem Capitolinam mihi non placuiſſe, tu teſtis es, &c. ib. 14.

Whence he acquaints them with what he had been tranſacting, in the following letter; which I have choſen to inſert, as it gives ſome light, not onely to the preſent queſtion, but to others alſo, which may fall in our way, in the progreſs of this diſpute.

D. Brutus to Brutus and Caſſius.

“ Obſerve what a ſituation we are now in. Yeſterday in the
“ evening, *Hirtius* was with me and plainly told me, in what
“ a diſpoſition *Antony* was; namely the worſt and moſt
“ treacherous: for he ſaid, that he could neither grant me
“ the Province; nor believed, that any of us could be ſafe
“ in *Rome*, where the ſoldiers and the populace were ſo much
“ irritated againſt us: both which, I imagine, you perceive to
“ be falſe; as well as that it is true, what *Hirtius* declared; that
“ he is afraid, leſt, if we ſhould acquire any little acceſſion of
“ dignity, no ſhare of the publick adminiſtration would be left
“ for any of them. Under theſe difficulties I thought
“ it beſt, to demand an honorary legation for myſelf, and
“ the reſt of our friends; that we might have a decent pretext
“ for going abroad. This he undertook to procure: but I
“ am confident, he will not be able to procure it; ſuch is the
“ inſolence of people, and ſuch their malice towards us: and
“ ſhould they grant us even what we aſk, I am yet of opinion,
“ that preſently after, we ſhould either be declared to be enemies,
“ or interdicted from water and fire. What is it then, you
“ will ſay, that I would adviſe? We ſhould yield a while, I
“ think to fortune; retreat out of *Italy*; remove to *Rhodes*,
“ or any other part of the earth. If things ſhould turn out
“ in our favour we will come back to *Rome*; if they afford
“ but an indifferent proſpect, we will live in exile; but if the

“ worſt ſhould happen, we will betake ourſelves to the laſt “ remedy. But ſome of you perhaps may here object; why “ ſhould we wait for the laſt extremity, rather than attempt “ ſomething at the preſent? Becauſe we have no place as yet “ where to make a ſtand; except with *S. Pompeius*, or *Baſſus* “ *Cæcilius*; who, upon the news of *Cæſar*'s death, ſeem “ likely to grow ſtronger: and it will be time enough for “ us to go to them, when we know for certain, what ſtrength “ they have. If you would have me undertake for any thing, “ on the part of *Caſſius* and you, I will engage my word for “ you, for this is what *Hirtius* requires me to do. I beg “ of you, to ſend me an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible: for I “ make no doubt, but that *Hirtius* will let me know, before “ ten a-clock, in what place we may meet together again upon “ theſe affairs. Send me word alſo, whither you would have “ me come to you. After the laſt conference with *Hirtius*, “ I took a reſolution to demand, that we might be allowed “ to ſtay at *Rome*, with a public guard: which I do not “ think they will grant us; ſince our preſence will draw a “ great odium upon them: I thought it my buſineſs however, “ to demand every thing, which I took to be equitable [1].

From this letter it appears, what it was, that *Decimus* adviſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius* to do, after *Cæſar*'s death. *To ſit ſtill for the preſent, and to attempt nothing vigorous*; *but to retire even out of Italy and expect what chance might offer to them*: and it ſeems probable, that in the next conference with *Hirtius*, he actually engaged his word for them, that they ſhould undertake nothing againſt the public quiet, but live retired, at a diſtance from *Rome*; on the condition of a promiſe from *An-*

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[1] Epiſt. Fam. 11. 1.

tony, that he would enſure their ſafety, and calm the diſorders of the City, and reſtore peace to the Republic. For this was the conduct, which they actually purſued; and which they profeſſed to purſue, *by Antony's advice, and from a dependence upon his promiſes* [1]: and it was likewiſe, what *Hirtius* particularly required from them, and *inſiſted with Cicero, that they ſhould continue to purſue* [2]: and ſoon after the time of this letter, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had a perſonal conference with *Antony* which ſeems to have paſſed to mutual ſatisfaction, and where this ſame agreement was probably confirmed [3].

Here then we ſee a clear and conſiſtent ſtory, poſitively atteſted by three ancient Hiſtorians, that *M. Brutus*, and not *Decimus*, was the author *of ſaving Antony*. But what is moſt remarkable, the ſame fact is confirmed by *Cicero* himſelf, and in that very letter, which our Critic has alledged to confute it: where *Cicero*, in relating the particulars of his conference with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, ſays, "that when he entered upon the "mention, of what they ought to have done, he took care, "not to touch upon that point, *that ſome body elſe ſhould have* "*been killed, as well as Cæſar*; but choſe to ſay onely, what all "the world ſaid at that time, that they ought to have ſum-"moned the Senate into the Capitol, and taken the advantage "of the zeal of the people, &c [4]. Theſe were the loſt opportunities, that *Caſſius* lamented, and charged to the account of *Decimus*, who was abſent: for *Cicero*'s caution, about touching on the affair *of ſaving Antony*, could not flow from any other motive, but his reſpect to *M. Brutus*, the author of it, who was preſent: and for the ſame reaſon *Caſſius* alſo, who lived in a perfect union with him, would not touch upon ſo tender a point, which muſt needs have made him uneaſy; eſpecially when *Brutus*'s mother, *Servilia*, and his wife, *Porcia*, and his ſiſter *Tertia*, *Caſſius*'s wife, were a part of the company.

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[1] Sed certe, cum ipſi in tua poteſtate fuerimus, tuoque adducti conſilio dimiſerimus ex municipiis noſtros neceſſarios—Nos ab initio ſpectaſſe otium, nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quæſiſſe, exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos poteſt niſi tu—tibi enim uni credidimus, & credituri ſumus, &c. ib. 11. 2.

[2] *Brutus* & *Caſſiuc* utinam—ne quod calidius ineant conſilium.—Retine, obſecro te, *Cicero*, illos—tantum, ſi quid timent, caveant. Nihil præterea moliantur. Ad Att. 15. 6. Epiſt. Hirtii ad Cicer.

[3] *Antonii* colloquium cum Heroibus noſtris pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

[4] Cumque ingreſſus eſſem dicere quid oportuiſſet; nec vero quidquam novi, ſed ea quæ quotidie omnes; nec tamen illum locum attingere; *quenquam præterea oportuiſſe tangi*, ſed Senatum vocari, populum ardentem ſtudio vehementiùs incitari, &c. Ad Att. 15, 11.

But our Critic refers us on this occaſion to *Mr. Montgault*'s authority and comment upon the place [1]; whoſe words are theſe; "*Paterculus* tells us, that it was *Caſſius*'s advice to kill "*Antony*, together with *Cæſar*, and that *Decimus Brutus* op- "poſed it. *Plutarch* and *Appian*, who uſually copy him, ſay; "that it was *M. Brutus:* but there is reaſon to judge from this "paſſage, that it was *Decimus*; and the rather, becauſe this "laſt had ſerved a long time with *Antony* under *Cæſar* [2]." *Mr. Mongault*, we ſee, builds his interpretation upon the teſtimony of *Paterculus*; in which he happens to be wholly miſtaken; ſince *Paterculus*, as I have already ſhewn, directly affirms the contrary; that it was *M. Brutus*, *not Decimus*, *who over-ruled the deſign of killing Antony* [3]. *Mr. Mongault* was drawn inadvertently into this miſtake by two eminent Commentators, *Boſius* and *Popma*, who had declared the ſame before him:

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[1] Tunſt. Ep. p. 207. Not.

[2] Mongault. Remar. 5. in Ep. ad Att. 15. 11.

[3] Quo anno id patravere facinus, *Brutus* & C. *Caſſius*, prætores erant; *D. Brutus* conſul deſignatus. Hi—ſtipati gladiatorum *D. Bruti* manu, Capitolium occupavere; cum Conſul *Antonius* (quem cum ſimul interimendum cenſuiſſet *Caſſius* —*Brutus* repugnaverat; dictitans, nihil amplius civibus, præter Tyranni—petendum eſſe ſanguinem, &c.) Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 58.

him [1]; which ſhews what little dependence ought to be placed, in queſtions of this ſort, on ſecond-hand teſtimonies, without recurring to the originals. But from this unlucky reference to *Mr. Mongault*, we plainly ſee, that our Critic's great attempt, *to correct the falſe tradition of antiquity*, was grounded at laſt on nothing elſe, but a groſs and palpable error [2].

He produces another imaginary contradiction, between the true *Cicero* and the author of this letter, who ſays, *when I ſaw the City in the hands of Traitors, oppreſſed by the arms of Antony, and that neither you nor Caſſius could be ſafe in it, I thought it time for me to quit it too.* This plainly implies, he ſays, *that Cicero did not leave Rome, till Brutus had firſt left it*, whereas it is certain, *that he quitted it immediately after the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, and that Brutus and Caſſius ſtaid in in it ſome time longer* [3]; for the proof of which he refers us to four of *Cicero*'s letters to *Atticus* [4]. Now the meeting of the Senate in that Temple was on *the 17th of March* [5]; and from the letters to which we are refered, it appears, that *Cicero* did not leave *Rome* till about the *5th or 6th of April*, near three weeks later, than our Critic ſuppoſes him to have quitted it. But how does he prove that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſtaid in it all that while? Why becauſe *Cicero*, in a letter dated *April 11th*, ſays, that they were forced to hide their heads, or *to keep themſelves cloſe within their own walls* [1]: and in another, dated *the 12th*, that *they had held a conference with Antony* [2]: neither of which implies, that they muſt neceſſarily be in the City: for whether they were in it, or in the near neighbourhood of it, in the one of which they undoubtedly were, they kept themſelves ſo cloſe, that none but their own domeſtics knew where they were: and it is moſt probable, that their conference with *Antony* was held out of the City, where they could hold it with more eaſe and ſafety, than in the midſt of the riots within. This however is certain, that neither *Cicero* nor *Brutus* went out of *Rome*, till after *Cæſar*'s funeral, and the tumults that enſued upon it. *Plutarch* declares, that *Brutus* and his accomplices quitted it directly upon that very occaſion [3]; which is confirmed, as we have ſeen above by *Decimus*'s letter: and *Cicero* mentions *Brutus* to have been ſeen near *Lanuvium*, before *the 14th of April* [4]. So that without any contradiction to what is ſaid in his genuin letters, *Cicero* might poſſibly ſtay in *Rome*, till *Brutus* retired out of it. But if *Brutus* after all had onely diſappeared, or kept himſelf cloſe within the City, for a few days before he left it, or had continued there in private, for a day or two after *Cicero* was gone, which is the utmoſt that can be pretended, it would be intirely conſiſtent with every thing, that is ſaid or implied about it in theſe ſuſpected letters.

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[1] Vid. Notas Boſii & Popmæ in Epiſt. ad Attic. l. 15. 12. Edit. Græv.

[2] This uſe of *Mr. Mongault*'s teſtimony ſeems to betray no ſmall diſingenuity in our Critic; and would make us apt to ſuſpect, that he is more ſollicitous to eſtabliſh an Hypotheſis, than the Truth. He had undertaken to prove, that *D. Brutus was the adviſer of ſaving Antony's life. Mr. Mongault* had declared himſelf of the ſame opinion, but upon the miſtaken authority of *Paterculus*, who in reality declares the contrary. Our Critic in all probability muſt have ſeen that miſtake, yet thought fit to diſſemble it; becauſe the confeſſion of it would have overthrown his own opinion, and *Mr. Mongault*'s teſtimony at the ſame time; from which he might hope however to draw ſome advantage; imagining, as it generally happens in ſuch caſes, that few or none of his readers would take the pains to examine it.

[3] Aperte dicit, quod tute etiam intellexiſti, ſe urbe exceſſiſſe poſtea, quam *Brutus* & *Caſſius* exceſſiſſent—ſtatim poſt eum diem urbe exceſſiſſe eum—veræ ejus Epiſtolæ declarant. Tunſt. p. 208.

[4] Ad Att. l. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[5] It was *the third day* after *the Ides*, when *Antony* ſummoned the Senate into this Temple. Phil. 2. 35. which was the Feaſt alſo of *Bacchus* called *Liberalia*, on 16. Kal. April. ad Att. 14. 10.

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[1] Parietibus contineri. Ad Att. 14. 5.

[2] Ad Att. 6.

[3] Plut. in Brut.

[4] *Brutum* noſtrum audio viſum ſub *Lanuvio*. ibid. 7.

He urges another objection of the ſame kind, drawn from theſe words, *you were retreating, Brutus, were retreating, I ſay; ſince your Stoics will not allow their wiſeman to fly.* Where *the Sophiſt,* he ſays, *fooliſhly blames Brutus's retreat out of Italy, which the true Cicero had adviſed* [1]. But by the ſame way of reaſoning, every caviller, whoſe views do not reach to the whole of things, and who makes no allowance for different circumſtances, may find contradictions in any thing, that a man either ſays or does.

I have obſerved above, what is opened more at large in *my Life of Cicero,* that from the moment of *Cæſar*'s death, *Cicero* conſtantly urged *Brutus* to vigorous meaſures, and not to truſt to *Antony, who would promiſe every thing and perform nothing. Brutus,* on the other hand, depending on the integrity of his cauſe, and having conceived ſome hopes of *Antony,* reſolved to procede calmly, and give no pretext on his part for war. When by this indolence, he was driven out of *Rome,* he purſued the ſame reſolution, of living quiet and retired in the country. *Cicero* in the mean time, diſpleaſed to ſee him ſit idle, while *Antony* was gathering an army about him, adviſed him and *Caſſius,* in the conference above mentioned, inſtead of doing nothing at home, where their perſons were expoſed to danger, to accept a Commiſſion, which the Senate had provided for them, and to go abroad: where they would not onely be ſafe, but might have an opportunity of ſecuring ſome of the provinces and armies to their intereſts. But this advice alſo was rejected, and *Brutus* continued ſtill inactive; waiting, as *Cicero* tells us, for ſome favourable turn of affairs at *Rome*; till finding his hopes diſappointed, and his enemies grown too ſtrong for him in *Italy*, he was forced at laſt to retreat, in order to try his fortune elſewhere.

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[1] Tunſt. p. 209.

With this Comment, the paſſage in queſtion will be found conſiſtent with every thing that is ſaid by the *true Cicero*. The letter objected to, is an apology for *Cicero*'s conduct, in anſwer to the exceptions of *Brutus*; wherein *Cicero* takes occaſion to recapitulate the motives of all his meaſures, from the time of *Cæſar*'s death; and puts *Brutus* in mind of what he had adviſed at that time, both to him and *Caſſius*; and how by adhering to their own pacific maxims, in oppoſition to his advice, they had been forced to quit *Rome*, and afterwards *Italy* itſelf.

Nor is it yet, as our Critic imagines, the act *of quitting Italy*, that is cenſured at all in this place; for that was become neceſſary in *Brutus*'s preſent circumſtances; and as ſuch is even commended by *the true Cicero* [1]; but it is *Brutus*'s general conduct, which is blamed, for driving him to that neceſſity, *of flying out of Italy*, when by following *Cicero*'s counſil, he might have been maſter of it. For it is certain, that *Cicero* never wiſhed or adviſed him to go abroad, till by his own fault he could no longer be ſafe at home [2].

But our Critic does not reflect, that by this very argument he makes *the true Cicero* not onely contradict the Sophiſt, but confute even himſelf; and by the ſame method therefore, may prove any other part of *Cicero*'s works to be ſpurious, as eaſily as theſe letters. For *Cicero*, as I have ſhewn, often complains in his letters to *Atticus*, that *Brutus had loſt his opportunities, and*

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[1] *Brutus* quidem ſubito ſed ſapienter. Ad Att. 15. 20.

[2] —age, quieſcant auctoribus nobis? quis incolumitatem præſtet? [ad Att. 15. 10.] Ego—ſuadere ut uteretur Aſiatica curatione frumenti: nihil eſſe jam reliqui, niſi ut ſalvos eſſe. In eo etiam ipſi Reip. eſſe præſidium—tuto enim non eris [Romæ.] Quid ſi poſſem eſſe? placeretne? atque ita, ut omnino neque nunc neque ex Prætura in provinciam ires. Ad Att. 11.

even ruined his cauſe by his indolence, in thoſe very firſt days of his reſidence in the Capitol [1]. Yet the ſame *Cicero*, in a Speech to the Senate, applauds *that very indolence*, and *his retreat out of Italy, as a wonderful inſtance of his patience, moderation and love of peace: whom no injuries could provoke to think of war, till he ſaw the Senate itſelf obliged to take arms* [2]. But with a proper allowance for different circumſtances, this will be found intirely conſiſtent; and both the one, and the other perfectly agreeable to *Cicero*'s character: firſt, to give the beſt advice to *Brutus*, that he was able; and if that was rejected, then to make the beſt conſtruction, and the beſt uſe of the meaſures, which *Brutus* choſe to purſue.

The next contradiction, urged againſt the ſame letter, is this, that whereas it tells us, *that Servius firſt moved the Senate, to grant Octavius the privilege, of ſuing for the public Magiſtracies before his regular time, and that Servilius alſo moved, to ſhorten that time*, yet it appears from *Cicero's genuin writings*, that he himſelf was *the firſt*, and *the onely one*, who made any ſuch motion [3].

It is declared indeed in one of *Cicero*'s *Philippics*, that among the honors granted to *Octavius*, at *Cicero*'s motion, it was decreed, *that he might ſue for the public Offices, as if he were then*

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[1] Itane vero? hoc meus & tuus *Brutus* egit, ut Lanuvii eſſet?—meminiſti me clamare; illo ipſo primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales! quæ tum opera effici potuerunt—? liberalia tu accuſas, quid fieri tum potuit? jampridem perieramus. ibid. 14. 10.

[2] Tantamne patientiam, Dii boni? tantam moderationem, tantam in injuria tranquillitatem & modeſtiam? &c. Phil. 10. 3.

[3] *Cicero* tempore illo, quo imperium *Cæſari* decrevit, primo, eoque ipſo, ut veriùs dicam, ſpiritu, ſententiam dixit ipſe, non alienæ adſentitus eſt. Tunſt. Ep. p. 211.

of Quæſtorian rank [1]. But how does it appear, that no body but *Cicero*, had ever made the ſame motion either in that, or any other meeting of the Senate? For as this was but a part, and the moſt inconſiderable one, of thoſe honors, which *Cicero* decreed to him, ſo it may be preſumed, with regard to this particular article, that it had been propoſed before by *Servius*, and that *Servilius* might move ſtill, to carry it one ſtep farther, ſo as to have *Octavius* conſidered, as an *Ædilician*; and that *Cicero* might cloſe with his friend *Servius*, and then add the other greater honors; *the legal command of his army, with the rank and ornaments of a Prætor*. This ſolution is intimated by *Manutius* [2]; and may fairly be preſumed, I ſay, upon the credit of theſe letters; till it can be ſhewn to be either abſurd in itſelf, or flatly contradicted by a better authority. For otherwiſe, our Critic's argument is a mere *petitio principii*, which doubly begs the queſtion; firſt, in rejecting the fact, becauſe it is found in theſe ſuſpected letters, and then rejecting the letters, becauſe this ſuſpected fact is found in them.

He charges another inconſiſtency upon the eighteenth letter, which he diſcovers in theſe words; "as to *Cæſar*, who has "been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an "excellent diſpoſition and admirable conſtancy; ſome people "by moſt wicked letters, meſſages, and fallacious accounts "of things, have puſhed him to an aſſured hope of the Con-"ſulſhip: which, as ſoon as I perceived, I never ceaſed ad-"moniſhing him in abſence, nor reproaching his friends, who "are preſent, and who ſeemed to encourage his ambition:

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[1] Ejuſque rationem, quemcunque Magiſtratum appetet, ita haberi, ut haberi per leges liceret, ſi anno ſuperiore Quæſtor fuiſſet. Phil. 5. 17.

[2] See *Manutius*'s note upon the place.

“ nor did I ſcruple, to lay open the ſource of thoſe traiterous counſils in the Senate [1].” Where he obſerves in the firſt place, that we have a quite different account of this affair from *Plutarch*: whoſe authority is again called to his aſſiſtance; though in the laſt inſtance, when it was expreſſly on the ſide of theſe letters, he declared it to be of no other uſe, but to miſlead *a poor Sophiſt*. But now he tells us, that *though the Sophiſt appears to have ſeen what Plutarch ſays*, yet being reſolved to defend *Cicero*, he choſe to take no notice of it: and he thinks it certain likewiſe, “ *that Cicero would never have called Octavius's attempt upon the Conſulſhip a moſt wicked one, or expoſed the ſource of it in the Senate, when he himſelf had decreed to him the honors above mentioned, and given him an aſſured proſpect of the Conſulſhip* [2].”

Cicero had decreed to *Octavius* the privilege of pretending to the public Magiſtracies, as if he had already been *a Quæſtor*: which gave him the ſtart by ten years, before all others of the ſame age: for he was now ſcarce *twenty years old*; and could not legally have obtained *the Quaſterſhip*, till he was *thirty*. Yet this privilege left him ſtill at a great diſtance from the Conſulſhip: which he could not yet pretend to, till he had paſſed through *the Ædileſhip or Tribunate*, and after that, *the Prætorſhip*: all which, with the regular interval between each of them, would require about ten years more, before he could arrive at the Conſulſhip.

But our Critic, by the manner of puſhing his argument, ſeems to miſtake the matter and to imagine, that by *the rank and enſigns of a Prætor*, decreed to him by *Cicero*, he was in effect to be conſidered as *a Prætor*, and had nothing left, but to demand the Conſulſhip at the next ſtep: whereas *his rank of Prætor* reached no farther, than to a mere precedency in the Senate; whilſt in other reſpects, he was to be treated onely as *a Quæſtor*; and to paſs through all the higher offices in their turn. *Cicero* then might well be ſhocked, as every body elſe was; that a boy, not twenty years old, ſhould not be content with the extraordinary honors, already decreed to him, but in contempt of thoſe, who decreed them, reſolve at once to ſeize the Conſulſhip; ſince an ambition ſo extravagant, and ſo bold an inſult upon the laws, was not likely to ſtop there, but threatened the utmoſt danger to the liberty of the Republic.

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[1] Tunſt. Ep. p. 212.

[2] *Cicero* certe conſilia illa, de Cæſaris petitione Conſulatus habita, ſceleratiſſima vix appellaſſet, &c. Tunſt. 213.

He alledges another fact, as a farther ground of ſuſpicion upon theſe letters, that in letter the 11th, dated *the 15th of May, Brutus begins to expreſs his apprehenſions, that Octavius would make an attempt upon the Conſulſhip, before Octavius himſelf had given the leaſt indication of it* [1]. But why does he fancy, that *Octavius* had not given any intimation of ſuch a deſign? The Conſuls had been dead about a month; and all *Rome* was expecting who ſhould ſuccede them; where all people's eyes and thoughts would neceſſarily be turned upon *Octavius*, as the onely perſon in *Italy*, who could impoſe what Conſuls he pleaſed: and who, by his refuſal *to purſue Antony*, or to take any farther ſtep againſt the declared enemies of the Republic, ſeemed to be forming ſome projects, which alarmed the friends of liberty; and in conſequence of which, he afterwards ſeized the Conſulſhip in *Auguſt* [2]. *D. Brutus*, we find, in a letter to *Cicero*, dated *May the 5th*, plainly intimates his apprehenſions on this very article [1]. Yet our Critic will not allow *M. Brutus* to be half ſo ſagacious as his nameſake; or capable of apprehending what *Decimus* had ſuſpected about a fortnight before: for on the improbability of ſuch a ſuppoſition, the force of his preſent objection depends.

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[1] Brutus enim—timet ſtatim (prius etiam, quam *Cæſar* ipſe ſuæ voluntatis indicium ullum ediderat) de Conſulatu, &c. Tunſt. Ep. 213.

[2] Sextilem menſem e ſuo cognomine nuncupavit—quia hoc ſibi & primus Conſulatus, &c. Sueton. in Aug. c. 31. Dio. p. 552.

He next produces, what he calls *a manifeſt and moſt ſhameful blunder*, from the 14th letter [2], where *Cicero* ſays; *as to what you write concerning the Sedition about C. Antonius, in the 4th Legion*, &c. Upon which our Critic inſults the poor Sophiſt, for *his ſcandalous ignorance, in not knowing, what is mentioned ſo frequently in Cicero's Philippics, that the 4th legion, which is here ſaid to be with Brutus in Macedonia, was actually with Hirtius at this time before Modena* [3]*:* and ſo far I allow, that *the 4th veteran legion* was now *fighting againſt Antony, in Italy*; and on that account is ſo often celebrated in *Cicero*'s *Philippics*, that no man, who had compiled them ſo diligently as this Sophiſt, could poſſibly be ignorant of it. I allow likewiſe, that the Roman legions were diſtinguiſhed, according to the order of their enrollment, by the names of the 2*d*, 3*d*, 4th, &c. But to clear the letters ſtill from this *manifeſt blunder*, I take it for a certain fact, though our Critic, it ſeems, does not know it, that the Roman Generals, who had occaſion to raiſe new legions in diſtant parts of the Empire, uſed to name them according to the order, in which they themſelves raiſed them, without regard to any other legions whatſoever. Thus I have obſerved, in ſome ancient inſcriptions, *two diſtinct legions*, called at the ſame time *the 4th:* viz. the *4th Scythian*, and *the 4th Flavian:* the one having been raiſed on the confines of *Scythia*; and the other ſomewhere elſe by *Veſpaſian* [1]*:* and in *Gruter's collection*, we may find *ſix* or *ſeven* more under the ſame denomination, but diſtinguiſhed by different ſurnames, drawn chiefly from the places, in which they had been raiſed, or had long reſided; as IIII *Cyrenaica*, *Gallica*, *Italica*, *Sorana*, in *Hiſpania*, &c. Thus *Dio* likewiſe, in a catalogue of all *the veteran legions*, which had been kept up to his time, from the reign of *Auguſtus*, reckons *three*, which were each ſeverally called, in different parts of the Empire, by the name of *the third legion*; one in *Phœnicia*, one in *Arabia*, and one in *Numidia: two* others alſo, called *the 6th*; one in *Britain*, and one in *Judæa:* and in the ſame manner *the 7th*, 8*th*, and 10*th*, appear likewiſe to have been *duplicates* [2].

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[1] Quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Conſulum, *quantamque cupiditatem hominibus injiciat vacuitas*, te non fugit. Ep. Fam. 11. 10.

[2] Jam aliam ἀνιστορησίαν adfero, manifeſtam quidem illam & plane pudendam. Tunſt. p. 215.

[3] Nunquamne in *Orationibus Ciceronis Philippicis*, quarum tamen dicta ſententiaſque ſæpenumero compilaſſe videtur, *legionem quartam Cæſaris* fortunas a principio belli ſecutam eſſe animadvertit; hocque tempore ipſo ſub *Hirtio* Conſule, duce militaſſe? quæ quidem ignorantia ideo turpior eſt, &c. ibid. 216.

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[1] Vid. Marſigli Hiſt. Danub. Tom. 2. p. 122, 123.

[2] Dio. p. 564. Edit. Hanov. In the area of the Capitol at *Rome*, there is an ancient Stone, with the names of the following Legions inſcribed on it.

NOMINA LEG.

II AVGVSTA
VI VICTRIX
XX VICTRIX
VIII AVGVSTA
XXII PRIMIGENIA
I MINERVIA
XXX VLPIA
I ADIVTRIX
X GEMINA
XIIII GEMINA
I PARTHICA
II ADIVTRIX
IIII FLAVIA
VII CLAVDIA
I ITALICA
V MACEDONICA
XI CLAVDIA
XIII GEMINA
XII FVLMINATRIX
XV APOLLINEA
III GALLICANA
II PARTHICA
IIII SCYTHICA
XVI FLAVIA
VI FERRATENSIS
X FRETENSIS
III CYRENENSIS
II TRAIANA
III AVGVSTA
VII GEMINA
II ITALICA
XIII PARTHICA.

Brutus therefore, when he made himſelf maſter of *Macedonia*, having ſecured *all the veteran troops in that Province, and raiſed new ones* [1], to the number, as it is here ſaid, of *five legions*, diſtinguiſhed them undoubtedly by the order, in which he himſelf had raiſed and placed them, without reſpect to any other legions in the Empire. For in that time of confuſion, when every General was raiſing not onely new, but hoſtile and oppoſite legions, it was hardly poſſible, to diſtinguiſh them otherwiſe; ſince it was not eaſy to know, either the diſtinct number of the whole Empire, or that of their particular enemies. *Dec. Brutus* was at the head of *ten*, or at leaſt of *ſeven legions*, all of them new: *Ventidius* at the ſame time had raiſed *three* for the ſervice of *Antony*: ſo that *Brutus*, in giving an account of *the Sedition* in his army, could not mark out the particular legion, in which it happened, in any other manner, but that of the order, in which it ſtood among his own *five legions*.

He diſcovers another inconſiſtency in the ſame letter, which he calls ſtill *more wonderfull*: for *Antony*'s *defeat and flight from Modena* are mentioned in it, he ſays, by *Brutus*, *before he could poſſibly have heard of them*: which he proves from *the date* of the letter, as it now ſtands in all the Editions, on *the* 18*th of April*, whereas the news of that event did not arrive at *Rome*, till *after the* 20*th* [2]. But *the dates* of letters, as every novice in Criticiſm knows, are too weak a foundation to lay any ſtreſs upon; on account of the infinite blunders, that are perpetually made in them, through the ignorance or inadvertency of tranſcribers, in all MSS whatſoever. They were deſcribed by numeral letters, according to the Roman way of computing, by *the Nones, Ides, and Kalends* of each month, in this manner; vi, v, iv, iii, *&c.* Non. viii, vii, vi, *&c.* Id. xvii, xvi, xv, *&c.* Kal. and there is ſcarce a poſſible miſtake, that can be committed, either by adding, deducting, or tranſpoſing any of theſe numerals, but what has actually been made, in ſome of the beſt MSS, and is ſtill found even in the beſt editions of *Cicero*'s works [1]. For example; in one of his letters to his Brother, where he is giving an account of the tranſactions at *Rome* for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, *all the dates*, as they now ſtand, are manifeſtly contradictory to the contents of the letter, and muſt neceſſarily be changed, before they can be reduced to a conſiſtency with it [2]. Thus alſo, one of the letters to *Tiro* [3], is dated *xv Kal. Nov.* where ſome MSS dropping the x, make it *v Kal. Nov.* others changing the month, make it *xv Kal. Dec.* yet the original date, as it evidently appears from a following letter, was *xvi Kal. Dec.* [4].

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[1] Brutus—in Macedoniam advolavit —— legiones conſcripſit novas, excepit veteres. Philip. 11. 12.

[2] Alia porro in eadem Epiſtola *Cicero* noſter memorarat magis adhuc mirabilia. Tunſt. p. 216.

The dates of letters then cannot be urged in prejudice to facts, unleſs they themſelves be firſt proved to be genuin, or there appear no reaſon at leaſt to ſuſpect them. But in this caſe, it is as hard to conceive, that a Sophiſt ſhould flatly contradict, by the date, what he affirms in the letter, as that *Cicero* himſelf ſhould have done it. Our Critic therefore, if he expects to make any impreſſion, muſt not depend upon *dates*, as of any force in the queſtion: for where he has nothing elſe to alledge, we ſhall reduce thoſe dates to a conformity with the facts, and his pretended contradictions will vaniſh at once: which is a ſufficient anſwer, not onely to the preſent objection, but to all others of the ſame kind.

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[1] Sometimes an x is dropt out of the date: thus inſtead of xiii Kal. ſome copies have iii Kal. [Ep. Fam. 10. 6.] Sometimes it is changed into v, and vice verſa; and where we find viii Kal. other MSS give xiii Kal. [ad Att. 8. 6.] Some of the ſingle ſtrokes are oft omitted or added to the original date: ſo that inſtead of ii, ſome copies have iii, others iiii Non. [ad Att. 7. 19.] The *Kalends* likewiſe are often changed to *Ides* or *Nones*, and vice verſa: as where we read *iv Kal. Feb.* ſome MSS have *v Id. Feb.* [ad Att. 8. 11.] And inſtead of *Prid. Id. Sext.* others, *prid. Kl. & prid. K. Sex.* [Ep. Fam. 14. 23.] And laſtly, one month is ſometimes put for another. As for *iiii Kal. Jun.* others have *iiii Kal. Maii*, and others, *iii Kal. Maii.* [ad Att. 3. 8.] All which miſtakes, with many inſtances of each, the reader will obſerve, by comparing *the dates of the letters*, in *Grævius*'s edition, with the various readings, which he has collected of them.

[2] Ad Quint. Fratr. l. 2. 3.

[3] Ep. Fam. l. 16. 7.

[4] Vid. ibid. Ep. 9.

He offers another of his *notable* objections, as he calls them, to letter the XIth; wherein *Brutus*, expreſſing his joy for the victory at *Modena*, declares himſelf particularly pleaſed, *that Decimus's eruption or ſally out of the Town, was of ſuch moment towards determining the victory* [1]. Here *Brutus*, he ſays, *ſpeaks of this eruption, before he had heard of it.* Becauſe the expreſs, which brought the firſt news of the victory, ſignified, that *Decimus continued ſtill blocked up in Modena:* and ſo he certainly did, when that firſt expreſs came away. But our Critic either widely miſtakes, or wilfully perplexes this fact: for as I have ſhewn elſewhere [2], there were *two ſeveral victories* obtained againſt *Antony* before *Modena:* in the firſt, *Panſa* was mortally wounded, but *Antony*'s troops defeated by *Hirtius:* in the ſecond, *Antony* was utterly routed, though *Hirtius* himſelf was killed; and *Dec. Brutus*, by forcing his way at the ſame time out of the Town, helped to complete the victory. The firſt of theſe victories was gained on *the 15th of April*, and the news of it arrived at *Rome* on the 20*th:* of which we have a diſtinct relation ſtill remaining: as well as of the rejoicings, made for it at *Rome*, and of the honors, decreed for it to the victorious Generals [1]. The *ſecond* victory, which was more complete, happened a day or two after; and the news of it reached *Rome*, at the ſame diſtance of time: but there is no other account of it now extant, except what may be gathered from ſome ſcattered hints, and occaſional references to it.

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[1] Sed in re *Bruti eruptionis* aliud eſt perquam notabile. Tunſt. 217.

[2] Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 427.

Now in this ſuſpected letter to *Brutus*, dated *the 22d of April*, *Cicero* makes but a ſlight mention of theſe two victories, as knowing, what he there declares, *that all the particulars of them were ſent to him by other hands:* and *Brutus*'s letter, in which he ſpeaks of *Decimus*'s *eruption*, and returns an anſwer at the ſame time to ſome of the particulars of *Cicero*'s, is dated *the 15th of May*; during which interval of above three weeks, our Critic ſuppoſes, and on that ſuppoſition builds his *notable* objection, that *Brutus* had not heard a ſyllable more of that moſt important event, either from *Cicero*, or any body elſe, than what was ſlightly intimated in the letter juſt mentioned, of *the 22d of April*. A ſuppoſition, utterly incredible; and expreſſly contradicted by the very letter, which we are conſidering.

But he puſhes this objection ſtill farther; and makes an attempt even to perſuade us, that *Antony voluntarily quitted the ſiege of Modena*, before he was forced to it; and that *D. Brutus* therefore could not make any *ſuch eruption*, as is here pretended [2]: and what is ſtill more ſtrange, that *this ſame eruption is not taken notice of by any other writer, but the author of theſe letters* [1]: though he himſelf has pointed out a paſſage, where it is expreſsly declared by the *the true Cicero:* who expoſtulating with *D. Brutus*, for not purſuing *Antony*, after ſo intire a rout, but giving him time to recollect himſelf, ſays; "that *famous* "*eruption of yours out of Modena*, brought us ſuch aſſured hopes "of an abſolute victory, from the account of *Antony*'s flight, "and his army cut to pieces, that all mens minds were unbent "at once, and cannot be brought to think again of war [1]." Now does not *this famous eruption*, as it is called by *the real Cicero*, tally exactly with what is here ſaid of it, by the imaginary Sophiſt; that it was an action of vigor and importance towards determining the victory? And can *Antony's flight, and army cut to pieces*, conſiſt with a voluntary retreat from the Siege? Yet our Critic, it ſeems, by his refining art, can extract this exquiſite ſenſe out of it.

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[2] Vid. Ep. Fam. 10. 30. Philip. 14.

[2] *Appianus* porro *Antonium*, mutinæ, obſidionem reliquiſſe narrat.——Concinit *Pollionis* Epiſtola ad *Ciceronem* ipſum Tunſt. p. 219. Not.

[1] Neque quidem præliis iis, quæ poſtea commiſſa ſunt, quibuſque, fuſis tamen *Antonii* copiis, Conſules ceciderunt, quidquam de *eruptione Bruti* auditur, niſi ab his, *Bruto* & *Cicereone*. Tunſt, ib.

But he urges us with a contradiction between the letters themſelves; becauſe in the 14th letter, *Brutus* is ſaid to have *five legions, with an excellent body of horſe, and a great number of auxiliaries*; yet in the 4th, is declared to want *both money and recruits. Which knot*, ſays our Critic, *you in vain endeavour to ſolve, by telling us, that though Brutus in his public letters to the Senate, ſignified nothing but what was proſperous, yet in his private letters to Cicero, he laid open his wants* [2]. But for my part, I never dreamt of any *knot* in the caſe; nor can I now ſee any, but in our Critic's imagination; who fancies, that *five legions, with an excellent body of horſe*, was a force ſufficient to ſupport the liberty of *Rome*. Whereas when *D. Brutus*, who had *ten legions*, was joined with *Plancus*, who had *four*, as good as any in the Empire, with the ſtrongeſt body of horſe; yet they both earneſtly demanded *ſupplies*; without which, they declared themſelves too weak, to venture a battel with *Lepidus* and *Antony* [1]: and they had great reaſon to preſs that demand; ſince *Antony*, as *Plutarch* tells us, after his union with *Lepidus*, marched into *Italy* with *ſeventeen legions and ten thouſand horſe*, and left *ſix legions* ſtill behind him in *Gaul* [2]. *Brutus* therefore, a great part of whoſe troops was newly raiſed, and unprovided with neceſſaries, might well call for recruits, though he had *five complete legions*.

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[1] Tantam ſpem attulerat exploratæ victoriæ tua præclara mutinâ eruptio, fuga Antonii, conciſo exercitu, &c. Ep. Fam. 11. 14.

[2] Itaque in hoc nodo explicando parum proficis, cum dicis, *Brutum* privatis litteris indicaſſe inopiam ſuam, publicis diſſimulaſſe. Tunſt. p. 223. Life of Cicer. v. 2. p. 372.

He goes on to tell us, that he finds the ſame contradiction to true hiſtory, with regard alſo *to the affairs of Caſſius* [3]. But what he has produced to ſupport that aſſertion, is ſo perplexed and involved, that I am at a loſs how to unravel it. For after jumbling together ſeveral facts of a different kind, and of different times; and among the reſt, the account of *Caſſius's ſucceſs in Syria*, he declares, *that theſe new events gave birth to the xith Philippic*. Where it is not eaſy to conceive, what it is, that he would ſuggeſt to us. Whether it be, that by the blundering account of theſe letters, *Caſſius's ſucceſs*, the news of which did not arrive at *Rome* till *April*, is made the occaſion of the *xith Philippic*, which was ſpoken in *March*: or whether he would have us take it for his own opinion, that *Caſſius's ſucceſs* did really give occaſion to *that ſpeech*. But whether he means the one or the other, it is certain, that he miſtakes the matter; and that the letters in queſtion are perfectly conſiſtent on this head: ſince they neither ſuppoſe *the news of Caſſius to arrive at Rome, till the beginning of April,* nor make any reference to Cicero's *xith Philippic,* but as to a ſpeech, delivered before that time, and without any relation to *that news:* as every one will perceive from the letters themſelves, to which he refers us [1].

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[1] Copias noſtras notas tibi eſſe arbitror. In caſtris meis legiones ſunt veteranæ tres, tironum vel luculentiſſima ex omnibus una: in caſtris *Bruti*, una veterana legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita univerſus exercitus numero ampliſſimus eſt, firmitate exiguus, &c. Ep. Fam. 10. 24.

[2] Plut. in Anton. p. 923.

[3] De C. item Caſſio non minora peccata ſunt. Tunſt. p. 223.

His next objection, though more intelligible, is not more to the purpoſe; where he obſerves, that *Cicero,* according to theſe letters, received an account of *Caſſius*'s *ſucceſs, in the beginning of April,* yet writing afterwards to *Brutus, on the 5th of May,* he ſays; *as to Caſſius's forces, we know nothing at all about them; for we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence, that we could certainly depend upon* [2]. Upon this, he inſults, as upon a flagrant contradiction. *What is become now,* ſays he, *of Brutus's expreſs on Caſſius's affairs, on which Cicero congratulated himſelf ſo much, on the xith of April? And how can he write in this manner to Brutus, from whom he had received a diſtinct account of thoſe very forces long before* [3]*?* But, if he will have a little patience, he will find it all conſiſtent. For though *Cicero* had heard *in April, that Caſſius was maſter of all the forces in Syria,* yet from that time, he had not heard a ſyllable of what he had done with thoſe forces; or which way he had marched with them; and was in the utmoſt expectation to hear of ſome action performed with them. This is all that is meant in the paſſage before us; as it appears from a letter of *the true Cicero* to *Caſſius* himſelf; wherein he profeſſes *the ſame ignorance*

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[1] Vid Epiſt. ad Brut. 3, 4.

[2] Vid. Epiſt. ad Brut. 3, 10.

[3] Ubi nunc ſunt *Bruti noſtri* nuncii, de *Caſſii* rebus geſtis, quibus *iii Id. Apr.* auditis, *Cicero* Reip. gratulabatur? Quomodo porro nunc ſcribit ad *Brutum*—qui de copiis iis *Brutum* ipſum *κατὰ μίτον* narrantem longe ante audiverat? Tunſt. p. 225.

ſtill of Caſſius's forces in July, which *the ſuſpected Cicero* does here in *May :* his words are theſe. “ As for your army, I will “ do every thing to ſerve it, that lies in my power. But there “ will be time enough for that, when we begin to know, “ what help it is likely to bring, or has already brought to the “ Republic. For we have heard nothing of you hitherto, but “ attempts onely : thoſe indeed are great and noble ; but we “ long to hear of ſome action : which, I perſuade myſelf, is “ already either over, or near at hand [1].”

Our Critic indeed refers us to another letter of the true *Cicero*, wherein it is ſaid, *that they had heard nothing at all, either where Caſſius was, or what forces he had* [2]. Whence he infers, that *Cicero had received no information at all about Caſſius* at that time. But this letter was written in *March*, immediately after *Cicero* had ſpoken his *xith Philippic*, of which he gives *Caſſius* an account in it : which was *three weeks*, before any news about *Caſſius* was received at *Rome*, either from *Brutus*, or any body elſe. So that this teſtimony has not the leaſt relation to his argument : and can ſerve no other end, but to perplex and miſlead the reader.

He ſhews more contradictions ſtill, in the caſe of *C. Antonius*, *M. Antony*'s brother, who was *Brutus's priſoner in Macedonia* ; and ſays, *that Cicero did not know, that he was taken priſoner by Brutus, till Panſa had left Rome* ; which he quitted in the end of *March*, as I readily allow ; but then he affirms, what he cannot prove, that *Cicero* and *Brutus* are ſuppoſed in theſe letters *to have written ſeveral times to each other about him, while Panſa continued in Rome* [3]. But *Brutus*, as I have obſerved elſewhere, ſent *two public letters*, at different times, to the Senate, concerning his affairs in *Macedonia* [1]. The firſt of them arrived, while *Panſa was in Rome*; and ſignified, that he had ſecured the greateſt part of that province and the troops in it, to the intereſts of the Republic; and that *C. Antonius was retired into Apollonia, with ſeven cohorts*, where he hoped ſoon to give a good account of him [2]. The ſecond arrived ſhortly after; yet not till *Panſa had left Rome*, and brought word, *that Brutus had now reduced the whole province, and taken Antonius himſelf priſoner* [3]: and this diſtinction of *the two expreſſes*, which our Critic is loth to acknowledge [4], though the nature of the thing ſhews, that there muſt have been *two*, will diſſipate at once his imaginary contradiction.

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[1] Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

[2] Ibid. Ep. 7. Verus igitur *Cicero* nihil dum audierat, nec ubi *Caſſius* eſſet, nec quas copias haberet. Tunſt. p. 224.

[3] *Brutus* tamen noſter, quod jampridem fecerat, *Ciceronem* deinceps *de capto An-*

But with regard to this *Antonius*, he finds *a wondrous inconſiſtency* in the letters themſelves [5]. For in one of them, *Cicero* ſays, "*that no* enemies were ever more worthy of the "laſt puniſhment, than thoſe Citizens, who had taken up "arms againſt their country in this war—and that the Senate "had adjudged all to be enemies, who followed the party of "*M. Antony* [6]." And in another, "that there was no "difference between *Dolabella*, and any one of the *three Antony's* [7]." Yet he declares at the ſame time, "that, when

"he

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tonio conſuluit; Ciceroque de eodem conſilia dedit, dum *Panſa* Conſul adhuc Romæ erat. Tunſt. in Notis ad p. 227.

[1] See Life of Cicer. vol. 2. p. 400.

[2] Philip. 10. 4, 5, &c.

[3] Erat expectatio reliquiarum *Antonii*—ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem—Nam tuæ litteræ, quæ recitatæ ſunt in Senatu & Imperatoris conſilium—declarant. Quod—niſi in turbulentiſſimum tempus poſt diſceſſum *Panſæ* Conſulis incidiſſent—&c. Ad Brut. l. 2. Ep. 7.

[4] Quæ de *litteris Bruti ſecundis* narrantur, mihi merito ſuſpecta ſunt. Tunſt. p. 226. Not. n.

[5] De hoc autem C. Antonio multa alia *Cicero Brutuſque* interloquuntur—antea vero miram ſane ἀντιλογίαν. ib. 227.

[6] Hoſtes autem omnes judicati, qui M. Antonii ſectam ſecutis ſunt. Ad Brut. Ep. 9.

[7] Quid intereſt inter *Dolabellam*, & quemvis *Antoniorum trium*, &c. ib. Ep. 5.

“ he was ſpeaking to the Senate, upon *C. Antonius* by name,
“ he moved for nothing particularly ſevere upon him, becauſe
“ he had reſolved to reſerve that, till the Senate had received
“ their information of his caſe from *Brutus* [1].”

Now in this *wondrous contradiction*, as it is ſtated by our Critic, I can diſcover nothing but what is perfectly conſiſtent. *Cicero* conſtantly preſſed *Brutus*, to conſider his priſoner *Antonius*, as an enemy; whom *Brutus*, contrary to *Cicero*'s advice, continued to treat with great reſpect and tenderneſs. But though *Cicero* urged this in his private letters, yet in the Senate, out of regard to *Brutus*, he was content with *Antonius*'s being included in the general vote againſt all the adherents of that party, and would not move for any particular or perſonal cenſure upon him; till the Senate, according to cuſtom, had received their information of his caſe, from *Brutus*, the General, whoſe priſoner he was.

He has thrown together ſeveral other paſſages, relating to this ſame *Antonius*, as ſeeming to be inconſiſtent with each other: which are all ſo trifling and captious, that I need not trouble myſelf with the recital of them. But he cloſes this argument with an obſervation, which he declares to be *moſt important* [2]: that after all, which is ſaid in theſe Epiſtles, about the caſe of *C. Antonius*, *between Brutus conſulting Cicero upon it, and Cicero giving advice*; *and Brutus again rejecting that advice*; yet it appears extremely probable, *that Plutarch had not ſeen any ſuch letters* [3]; becauſe he gives this ſummary account of the whole matter; “ that *Brutus* for a long time treated *C. Antonius*

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[1] Ib. Ep. 9.

[2] Quod autem maximum eſt, &c. Tunſt. p. 229.

[3] *Plutarchum* tamen harum Epiſtolarum vidiſſe nullam, perquam veriſimile eſt. Tunſt. p. 229.

“ with great reſpect, though many of his friends, as it is ſaid, “ and particularly *Cicero*, were writing and urging him from “ *Rome*, to put him to death [1].” I ſhall not diſpute with him, *whether Plutarch had ſeen the letters or not*; being very ſure, that he had very little curioſity, about ſeeing any of *Cicero*'s *genuin letters*; but this I will venture to ſay, that if he had not ſeen, he had heard of them at leaſt, and manifeſtly refers to them in this very paſſage; which is as full an account of the affair of *Antonius*, as *Plutarch* is apt to give of affairs of much greater importance.

He obſerves in the next place, that in the caſe of *Lepidus*, *theſe letters are plainly prophetic, and ſpeak of facts, long before they happened* [2]: for in the third of them to *Brutus*, *Cicero* ſays; “ from the letters of your own people, you are convinced, “ I gueſs by this time, of the levity, inconſtancy, and “ perpetual diſaffection of your friend *Lepidus*, who next “ to his own Brother, hates you his near relations the “ moſt.” This paſſage he ſuppoſes to have been borrowed by the Sophiſt, from a letter of *the true Cicero* to *Caſſius*, which begins thus; “ You are informed, I gueſs, from the “ public acts, of the treachery of your kinſman *Lepidus*, and “ his ſurprizing levity and inconſtancy [3].” Where *the Sophiſt was very blind*, he ſays, not to ſee, that the letter of *the true Cicero*, which refers to *Lepidus's union with Antony*, was written *after the battel of Modena*; whereas the cenſure upon *Lepidus*, in this ſuſpected one, was written before that battel [4]: and ſo far indeed I agree, that *the times or dates* of the two letters are quite different; but there is a good reaſon for it; becauſe *the facts*, to which they allude, are different too; and *the blindneſs* muſt not be charged *to the Sophiſt*, but to the Critic, whoſe Hypotheſis would not ſuffer him to ſee any fact but *one*, of which *Lepidus* could be guilty. For he affirms, *that before the battel of Modena, it was not poſſible for Brutus to know any thing of Lepidus's inconſtancy, from the accounts of his friends* [1]: which though boldly affirmed, is utterly falſe. For before that battel, two of *Lepidus*'s Lieutenants, *Silanus* and *Culleo*, marched with a detachment of *Lepidus*'s troops to *Antony*'s aſſiſtance; which as all people then imagined, was done by *Lepidus*'s order, but moſt certainly by his connivence [2]. This then is the fact to which this letter refers: and which, after *Antony*'s defeat, *Lepidus* himſelf endeavours to excuſe to *Cicero*, in an humble ſtrain; diſclaming the act of his Lieutenants, and declaring it *to have been done againſt his will* [3]. But before the time of his *union with Antony*, which our Critic takes to be *the firſt, and onely inſtance of his inconſtancy*, *D. Brutus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, calls him a man *as light and variable as the wind, and who was never diſpoſed to do any thing, that was right* [4]: which implies many former inſtances of an inconſtant and perfidious temper; agreeably to the character given of him in theſe letters, where *Cicero* ſpeaking of *his union with Antony*, ſays, *that they had experienced many inſtances of his levity before, but not any, that was likely to be ſo pernicious* [5].

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[1] Plut. in Brut. 996.

[2] De Lepido noſter plane divinus eſt. Tunſt. p. 229.

[3] Ep. Fam. 12. 8.

[4] Sed tamen ille alter valde cæcutivit, quod non animadvertit, &c. Tunſt. 229.

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[1] Tunſt. 230.

[2] Dio. l. 46. p. 316.

[3] *Silanus & Culleo* ab eo diſceſſerunt. Nos etſi graviter ab his læſi eramus, quod contra noſtram voluntatem ad *Antonium* ierant, &c. Epiſt. Fam. l. 10. 34.

[4] In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventoſiſſimum, *Lepidum* mittas.—Sed mihi perſuaſiſſimum eſt, *Lepidum* rectè facturum nunquam. Epiſt. Fam. l. 11. 9.

[5] Datumque *Lepido* tempus eſt, in quo levitatem ejus, *ſæpe perſpectam*, majoribus in malis experiremur. Epiſt. 18.

As to *the letter of condolence, from Cicero* to *Brutus*, the 16th of this collection; he allows it, whether forged or genuin, to relate, as I have applied it, to the death of *Porcia*, *Brutus's wife* [1]. But the author of it, he ſays, not having the confidence, *openly to aſſert a fact, ſo contrary to hiſtory, contrived artfully to conceal both the name and the ſex* of the *perſon, whoſe loſs he was condoling*. But this very circumſtance is ſo far from ſuggeſting the ſuſpicion of a forgery, that it ſuggeſts juſt the contrary: for it is not credible, that a Sophiſt, who had taken the bold reſolution to contradict all hiſtory, ſhould be ſo baſhfull at the ſame time, as to involve what he had to ſay in ſuch obſcurity, that no body ſhould be able to underſtand it; whereas, on the other hand, it is natural to imagine, that *Cicero*, writing upon the death of a beloved wife, ſhould chuſe out of good manners, and a regard to *Brutus*'s tenderneſs, to avoid the mention of her name, or to dwell upon her perſonal qualities: which is the probable ſource of the difficulty, that the learned have found, in determining the real ſubject of the letter.

He adds a remark, as a farther proof of the Sophiſt's craft; how he had taken care before hand, *to drop a ſmall hint of Porcia's illneſs*, that we might not be ſurprized to hear of her death [2]. This was cunningly done indeed, to make us believe, that ſhe happened to be ſick, before ſhe died. Yet after filling a page or two more, with obſervations of the ſame ſort, he declares the letter itſelf to be a *poor, jejune compoſition, which could not poſſibly be Cicero*'s; becauſe *Cicero*, on ſuch an occaſion, would have collected examples of ſimilar loſſes from all hiſtory, as he had done before, in his treatiſe *on Conſolation*, written upon the death of his daughter: where, as he proves by an heap of teſtimonies, *Cicero* had drawn together all the caſes of the ſame kind, that either *the Greek or Roman hiſtory* furniſhed [1]. But he might have ſpared his learned pains; for if he had reflected on the circumſtances, in which *Brutus* then was; at the head of the moſt important and critical affairs, in which a mortal could be engaged, and on which the fate of *Rome* depended; he muſt have thought, that the leſs, which was ſaid on ſo tender and dejecting a ſubject, muſt needs be the better; and that this letter, as ſhort and ſlight as it appears, was more agreeable to the prudence of *Cicero*, and the ſituation of *Brutus*, than the moſt ſtudied compoſition on the ſame argument could poſſibly be.

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[1] De *Porcia*—ſcriptam fuiſſe tecum omnino judico, &c. Tunſt. 231.

[2] Pro ſuo artificio—*Brutum* de valetudine *Porciæ* ſpargentem induxit. Tunſt. 231. See Lett. 15th.

He goes on to produce more contradictions from two other letters, relating to *Vetus Antiſtius*. The firſt was written by *Brutus*, and brought to *Rome* by *Vetus*, at a time when *Brutus* ſuppoſed the Conſuls to be living [2]: but here lies the contradiction; that though the matter of the letter implies it to have been written, *while the Conſuls were alive*, yet it is ſignified in the beginning of it, that the writer had heard of *the battel of Modena*, and conſequently of *their death* [3]. It is very ſtrange, that a cunning Sophiſt ſhould be ſo forgetfull of himſelf in a ſhort letter, as to contradict in one line, what he affirms in another: but this reflection does not ſtop our Critic; who, when it ſerves his purpoſe, can find a contradiction wherever he pleaſes: the words in which he finds it are theſe; "*Vetus*
"*Antiſtius* is ſo well affected to the Republic, that I cannot

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[1] Tunſt. p. 236. in Notis.

[2] See Lett. 6th.

[3] Sed *Brutus*, cum illam epiſtolam ſcripſit, ſe *Mutinenſis* prælii nuncium accepiſſe, ipſe in initio epiſtolæ declarat. Tunſt. 238.

“doubt, but that if he had met with an occaſion, he would “have ſhewn himſelf a ſtrenuous aſſertor of our common “liberty, both againſt *Cæſar* and *Antony* [1].” Now according to his comment, the occaſion, which *Vetus* had never met with, of acting againſt *Antony*, was nothing elſe but *the battel of Modena*, in which *the two Conſuls were killed* [2]. But what man living, beſides himſelf, can diſcover any ſuch ſenſe in them? The meaning of them is evidently this; that if *Vetus* had been at *Rome*, while he reſided in the Provinces, he would have joined with the friends of liberty, in declaring and acting both againſt *Cæſar* and *Antony:* and there were occaſions enough of doing that, long *before the battel of Modena. Cicero* began to act openly againſt *Antony* in *November: Octavius* had done it before: *Hirtius* led out an army againſt him in *January*; and every body was declaring and acting on the one ſide or the other. But no occaſion could be of uſe to our Critic, except *the battel of Modena*; and unleſs that battel be refered to in thoſe words, his pretended contradiction falls to the ground; where it will be his wiſeſt part, I believe, to let it lie.

Vetus then, for any thing that appears to the contrary, might come to *Rome* at any time while *the Conſuls were living*; or before he knew at leaſt of their death. But he came, as the letter informs us, to ſue for the Prætorſhip; and if the Conſuls ſhould not hold that election in due time, had promiſed *Brutus to return to him directly*; yet from the letter, which *Cicero* ſent back by him to *Brutus*, [3], we find, that he ſtaid to the beginning of *July:* all which may eaſily be accounted for, by ſuppoſing onely, that a perſon of *Vetus*'s rank, who had governed a Province, and been long abſent from *Rome*, might find more buſineſs there at his return, than he expected, or enough at leaſt, to detain him for three or four months. But there is an obvious reaſon for his ſtay, ſuggeſted by the circumſtances of the times, as well as by *Cicero*'s genuin letters; namely, the difficulty of making an election of Prætors, occaſioned by the unexpected death of the Conſuls; ſince no other Magiſtrate could regularly call an aſſembly of the People for that Purpoſe: yet in that exigency and time of confuſion, the Prætors ſeemed to have taken a reſolution to exerciſe that prerogative, till *Cicero*, by his perſonal authority, got the election poſtponed to *the January* following; when *D. Brutus* and *Plancus* were to enter upon the Conſulſhip, from whoſe adminiſtration he expected the eſtabliſhment of their liberty and ancient conſtitution [1].

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[1] See Epiſt. 6.

[2] Jam illa occaſio, cui *Antiſtium* occurrere non potuiſſe, *Brutus* cognoverat, prælium ipſum *Mutinenſe* erat. ib. 239.

[3] See Lett. 17th.

As to what is objected, concerning the *elections into the Prieſthoods and the Prætorſhips* [2], ſince it appears to have nothing ſolid in it, I ſhall ſpare myſelf the trouble of repeating it. The ſumm of it amounts onely to this; that our Critic does not know how to reconcile it to the cuſtoms and conſtitution of *Rome*; and that *Manutius* alſo is puzzled, how to ſolve it: all which may ſafely be granted, without any diſcredit to the letters themſelves: for ſuppoſing them even to be forged, I can eaſily imagine the author of them to have been more perfectly acquainted with the conſtitution of the Republic, than any modern Critic, who has ſince attempted to explane them. But if any difficulty ſhould occur to the reader on this article, he will find, I hope, a ſatisfactory account of it in the notes [3].

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[1] Vid. Ep. Fam. 10. 25, 26.

[2] Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 241. &c.

[3] See Lett. 10th Note [10], and Lett. 20th, Note [3].

He concludes his obſervations about *the Prieſthoods*, with this acute reflection, that the Sophiſt, having underſtood from hiſtory, *that young Cicero was made a Prieſt by Auguſtus*, took occaſion to form a letter or two upon that ſubject, and to feign *Cicero* himſelf greatly ſollicitous to procure that honor for his ſon [1]. But were not all the Roman Nobles juſt as ſollicitous, as *Cicero* is ſaid to be here, to get *their Sons elected Prieſts?* If there was no ſuch practice in *Rome*, that might be a reaſonable objection to theſe letters, which make ſo much mention of it: but if all the Nobles, at all times, really acted, as *Cicero* is ſuppoſed to act on this occaſion, what room is there for any ſcruple, or refinement in the caſe? But this is his conſtant method of criticiſing; if he ſees any thing in the letters, which he knows not how to reconcile to *hiſtory*, or to *the true Cicero*, or to *the cuſtoms of Rome*, he condemns them preſently as ſpurious; if he finds them to agree exactly with them all, he then alarms us, with *the ſcholaſtic arts*, *the minute diligence*, and *the ſubtle imitation of the Sophiſt* [2].

He procedes to obſerve, that from *the number of auguries* in theſe letters, or *preſages of things*, which really happened, it is reaſonable to conclude, that *the events did not follow the predictions*, but that *the predictions were forged afterwards upon the events* [3]: and this he frequently inſinuates in different parts of his work [4]. For it never ſeems to enter into his head, that *Cicero* could know any thing more of affairs than he, or be able to foretell, what he ſhould never have dreamt of. But whatever he may think of *Cicero*, an eſteemed writer of *Cicero*'s own times, who lived with him, and after him, has left us this teſtimony with regard to the point in queſtion; *the preſages of his letters*; "that his "wiſdom might be looked upon as a kind of divination; "ſince he foretold things in futurity, not ſuch onely, as happened whilſt he himſelf was ſtill living, but declared as a "Prophet, what came even into common uſe and practice "after his death [1]." Thus what thoſe ancients, who knew *Cicero* perſonally, have delivered as the diſtinguiſhing character of his letters, our ingenious Critic conſiders every where, as the very proof and criterion of their forgery.

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[1] Non ſine cauſa videor ſuſpicari, noſtrum —— ὑπόθεσιν ſcribendi ſumpſiſſe ex eo, quod illum poſtea a *D. Auguſto* Sacerdotem factum eſſe ex hiſtoria comperiſſet. Tunſt. 245.

[2] Περιεργασία etiam ſcholaſtica in illis eſt. ib. 235. Not. Hic notanda diligentia minimè Ciceroniana. ib. 245. Imitations veſtigia magis manifeſta ſunt. ib. 220. Not. &c.

[3] Tunſt. p. 245, 250. &c.

[4] Hic rerum multo poſt futurarum πρόληψις eſt. [ib. p. 226.] ſequitur aliud *Bruti* vaticinium. ib.

But what after all are *theſe frequent auguries*, which give him ſo much offence? Why, after the battel of *Modena*, and the death of the two Conſuls, *Cicero* begins to apprehend, that *Octavius*, who by that accident was become the maſter of all the veteran forces in *Italy*, *would not be governed by him ſo eaſily as he had hitherto been:* and *Brutus* alſo on his part, before he had heard of *Octavius*'s deſign upon the Conſulſhip, expreſſes his fears, *leſt he ſhould take a reſolution to ſeize upon it* [1]: apprehenſions ſo obvious and natural, that they could hardly fail of being entertained, in ſome degree or other, by all men of ſenſe. But obſerve the ſtrange perverſeneſs of our Critic. He had been contending at ſetting out, that *Octavius*, even before *Brutus's departure out of Italy*, and while he had little or no power to do either good or harm, had given *the ſtrongeſt reaſons to apprehend every thing bad of him*; yet now at laſt, when *Octavius*

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[3] Ut facile exiſtimari poſſit, prudentiam quodammodo eſſe divinationem. Non enim *Cicero* ea ſolum, quæ vivo ſe acciderunt, futura prædixit, ſed etiam quæ nunc uſu veniunt, cecinit ut vates. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att. c. 16.

[2] Tunſt. p. 213, 248, &c.

had got all power into his hands, he contends, that he had not given the leaſt ground to ſuſpect, *that he would make an ill uſe of* [illegible]

To this article of predictions, *he will add*, he ſays, *one prediction more, but that indeed a manifold one, delivered with ſingular confidence*, in the following words; "as to myſelf, I "can ſay, what *Plautus*'s old man ſays in *the Trinummus*; life "is almoſt over with me; it is you, who are the moſt intereſted "in it. You will be undone, *Brutus*, believe me, if you do "not take great care. For you will neither have the people "always the ſame as now; nor the Senate; nor a leader of "the Senate. Take this as delivered to you from *the Pythian* "*Oracle*; nothing can be more true [1]."

Upon this paſſage, he cavils, in the firſt place, at ſomething, I know not what, in the expreſſion, as not being *Ciceronian*, but betraying *a ſophiſtical diligence* [2]*:* he diſcovers likewiſe a *prediction*, which *Cicero here makes*, *of his own death* [3]. Then as to what is declared, of the probability of danger to *Brutus*, and of a turn of affairs at *Rome*, he takes great pains to prove, that it could not be foretold at this time by *the true Cicero*, but was forged afterwards by the Sophiſt from the event. The ſtrongeſt argument, that he alledges for it, is this; "that the "letter, in which *this Oracle* is delivered, was moſt certainly "written before the news of the victory at *Modena* arrived at "*Rome*; at which time *the true Cicero* could have no ground "for ſuch a preſage, ſince the whole people and the Senate, "with *Cicero* himſelf at their head, were wonderfully una-

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[1] Tunſt. p. 245.——See Lett. 14.

[2] Hic notanda diligentia minime Ciceroniana. ib. 245.

[3] Rurſus *Cicero* ſuam mortem providit —*mihi quidem ætas ferme acta eſt*. Tunſt. 232. in Notis.

“ nimous in the defence of their common liberty [1].” But in anſwer to this, it happens, that this letter, contrary to what our Critic affirms, was written *after the victory at Modena had been known for ſome time at Rome*, as the contents of it expreſſly demonſtrate: and the date of it therefore, on which he wholly depends, ought to be reduced, as I have ſhewn above, to a conformity with the contents.

But at what time ſoever the letter was written, it is certain, that there is nothing either ſtrange, or improbable, in any part of the prediction. As long indeed as *Cicero* continued the leader of the Senate, and the favorite of the people, things were ſure to go well in the City; but whenever any accident ſhould happen to him, a reverſe was certainly to be apprehended: and even whilſt he lived, the populace, always fickle, might poſſibly be gained by artifice or bribes to turn againſt him: and in the Senate itſelf, where he had the aſcendant, it was with no ſmall ſtruggle, as it appears from his *Philippics*, that he was able to maintain it, againſt the Chiefs of the oppoſite faction: and we find from his genuin letters, what he declares in theſe ſuſpected ones, that even *after the battel of Modena*, and in the midſt of their joy for that victory, he found *more malevolence than gratitude*, in a great part of that body [2]. All this, I ſay, is declared by *the true Cicero*, while their affairs ſeemed to be in a proſperous ſtate; yet our Critic thinks it incredible, that he could foreſee the poſſiblity of a change in them. But I am aſhamed to detain the reader on ſuch trifles; of which I may ſay with much truth, what he has not ſcrupled to declare of theſe letters, that they are the fruits *of ſcholaſtic futility*, and betray a total ignorance of *affairs and real life* [1].

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[1] Imprimis hoc oraculum tum eſſe, cum pugna Mutinenſis jam eſſet commiſſa, nec tamen ejus rei fama ad Romam uſque perveniſſet, certiſſimum eſt. Hoc autem tempore ipſo, *Cicero* noſter domi populum, Senatum, Senati ducem, civitatem denique totam in libertate communi defendenda admirabiliter conſentientem videbat. ib. 247. See Lett. 14.

[2] Ep. Fam. 10. 12. 11. 14. ad Brut. 21.

He has offered two objections more to the general character of theſe letters, which I have not yet touched upon, firſt, that *they want the beauty and copiouſneſs of the Ciceronian ſtile* [2]; ſecondly, *that they are all drawn in the ſame ſtile and manner of writing*, as coming evidently from the ſame hand [3].

As to the firſt, it is ſo contemptibly ſupported, that it is hardly worth while to take notice of it. He has collected ſeveral paſſages, which he declares to be *futile*, *improper*, *too confuſed and hard in the ſyntax*, to be received as *Cicero*'s [4]: and he obſerves, that the *true Cicero*, if he had begun a ſentence with *cave exiſtimes*, would have reſumed it after a *parentheſis*, with the ſame phraſe; and not as this Sophiſt, with *cave putes* [5]: and that he would have uſed the præpoſition, *per*, where the Sophiſt has uſed, *propter* [6]; with other criticiſms of the ſame kind, which cannot be a proper ſubject of diſpute, except with thoſe, who profeſs to be perfect maſters not onely of *Cicero*'s writings, but of the whole extent of the Latin tongue; which no modeſt man will eaſily pretend to. Such cavils as theſe might be formed, I dare ſay, from every page of *Cicero*'s genuin Epiſtles. In the laſt of them to his Brother, which immediately precedes this very collection, caſting my eye upon the end of it, I obſerved the following ſentence; *ſed ſumus unà tamen valde multum:* which conſiſts onely of ſix words, and yet five of them *adverbs*. Now might we not declame here with our Critic, upon *the poverty and futility of the diction*; that it *wants the beauty and copia of the Ciceronian ſtile*; and *cannot poſſibly be received as Cicero's?* Yet *Cicero* himſelf tells us, that *in familiar Epiſtles*, he was not at all ſcrupulous about the choice of words, but took the firſt that occurred from *vulgar uſe* [1].

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[1] Ut ex περιεργασία potiùs & meditatione ſcholaſtica, quam ex negotiis ipſis, vitæque veræ actione natæ eſſe viderentur. Tunſt. 193.

[2] In illis orationis *Ciceronianæ* candidorem copiamque ſtatim deſiderabam— ibid.

[3] Tum eodem genere & colore deſcriptas eſſe clare perſpexiſſe videbar. ibid.

[4] Hæc autem ſunt & diſpoſitione perturbatiora, & συντάξει duriora, quam ut credantur eſſe *Ciceronis*. [Tunſt. 220. in Notis.] Et ſane in his Epiſtolis multa duræ & fæculentæ orationis exempla occurrunt. [ib. 221. Not.] Hæc item duriuſcula ſunt. [ib. 222. Not.] Hæc omnino futilia. ib.

[5] Ibid. p. 204.

[6] Ib. p. 234.

But in truth, all arguments drawn from *ſtile*, are of too looſe and precarious a nature, to have any great weight in queſtions of this ſort; there being no ſettled rule or criterion, to which we can apply them, but the different taſt and judgement of different men. Our Critic denies theſe letters to be *Ciceronian*; and others perhaps may do the ſame; yet the generality of the learned have always been of a contrary mind; and *Manutius* uſed to admire the peculiar dignity, or *majeſty*, as he called it, *of ſtile in them* [2]. For my own part, I take *Cicero*'s hand to be ſo clearly diſcernible in them, as to think it hardly poſſible, that they could have been written by any body elſe; and if the expreſſion, in any of them appears to be ſomewhat different from that of his other Epiſtles, it is no more, than what may be charged to a difference of the ſubject; which is generally more urgent and warming in theſe, than in any of the familiar kind. The moſt effectual way of attacking them on the article of ſtile, is to produce ſome phraſes, of a *later origin and uſe*, than the age of *Cicero:* and if, as our Critic contends, they had been forged after the time of *Plutarch*, we ſhould certainly find ſome inſtances of that ſort in them; on account of the remarkable change, which the Latin tongue had undergone in that interval; in which many new words were introduced, unknown to the *Ciceronian* age; and the whole turn and faſhion of writing quite altered; as every one may readily obſerve, in all the beſt writers of the intermediate ages, between *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

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[1] Veruntamen, quid tibi ego in *Epiſtolis* videor? nonne plebeio ſermone agere tecum?—*Epiſtolas* vero quotidianis verbis texere ſolemus. Ep. Fam. l. 9. 21.

[2] *P. Manutius*, in familiaribus ſermonibus, ſæpe ſolet earum epiſtolarum *majeſtatem* prædicare. Andr. Patr. Schol. in Fragm. Epiſt. ad Brut. p. 5, 6.

As to the ſecond objection, of *an identity of ſtile in them all*, it depends upon the bare word, and authority of our Critic. But though it could not be thought ſtrange, if in a ſeries of letters, between two great men of the ſame age and City, ſome ſimilitude of expreſſion or ſentiment ſhould happen to be found; yet in theſe every man muſt neceſſarily diſcern as great a difference, as can poſſibly be expected, from the different characters of the two writers [1]. In *Brutus*'s, we ſee an impatient, querulous, dogmatic manner; agreeable to the fierceneſs and haughtineſs of his nature: in *Cicero*'s; all the calmneſs, prudence and management of *Brutus*'s temper, that we ſhould expect from an experienced Stateſman, all whoſe views were bent, in that criſis of their affairs, on the preſervation of his country: and it is this different ſpirit, ſo agreeable to the characters of the men, which makes the letters themſelves ſo much admired by all, who read them with any judgement or attention.

[2] See Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 487.

Yet what is the moſt remarkable, our Critic, while he inſiſts upon *this identity of ſtile*, and even argues from it as an allowed fact [1]; has himſelf affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, the *greateſt difference* between the letters, that can be imagined, between any of the moſt different writers. He calls *Brutus's epiſtle to Atticus, really a fine one* [2]; and as for the other to *Cicero*; he gives it all the praiſe, that can be given to a letter, and declares it to be *juſtly admired by all, who have any taſt of fine writing, or any ſparks of liberty in them* [3]. Yet on the other hand, he declares *Cicero*'s anſwer to *Brutus*, or apology for himſelf, to betray the *operoſe diligence and wretched craft of the Sophiſt*; *to be inſipid, blundering, fooliſh*; *full of obſcurity, impropriety, and impertinence* [4]. What is become then of *his pretended identity of ſtile, and coloring* in all the letters; when he himſelf aſcribes to *Brutus*'s, all the beauties, and to *Cicero*'s, all the faults, that can poſſibly be found in any compoſitions of that ſort?—nor is this leſs contradictory to another reflection, which he inſinuates with equal judgement in different parts of his work, that the Sophiſt's view in theſe letters, was *to vindicate Cicero's conduct and character*: ſince he affirms the onely two letters, which accuſe him, to be fineſt and the ſtrongeſt; and *Cicero*'s *defence* of himſelf, to be the moſt trifling and contemptible in the whole collection.

But, as I have intimated above, the matter of theſe letters ſeems to be a ſtronger evidence for their authority, than their

[1] Quod quidem latiùs etiam patere videtur, atque efficere, ut genus etiam utriuſque epiſtolare, *unum & prope Germanum, quod in hoc epiſtolarum volumine deprehenditur*, nequaquam eſſe potuerit. Tunſt. 205.

[2] Illam ad *Atticum*, ſane bellulam. ib. 200.

[3] Neque quidem mirum eſt, eam in omnibus iis, qui vel de ſcriptis recte judicare poſſunt, vel ullos libertatis igniculos habeant, incredibilem excitaſſe admirationem ſui. Tunſt. 203.

[4] Ibid. p. 204, ad 215——

ſtile. For it conſiſts of a great variety of facts, and ſeveral of them not touched upon by any other writer; which could be known onely to thoſe, who were intimately acquainted both with the conſtitution of *Rome*, and the affairs of thoſe times; and are generally of ſuch a nature, as no Sophiſt would chuſe for the ſubject of his forgery, or venture to deal in ſo freely, for fear of betraying himſelf; unleſs we ſuppoſe him ſo perfect a maſter of all hiſtory, as to be aſſured, that it could furniſh nothing to detect him.

The very firſt letter for inſtance, which is cited by *Nonius Marcellus*, (a circumſtance ſufficient of itſelf to evince it's authority) is natural and probable, ſuppoſing it to be real, but quite otherwiſe, on the ſuppoſition of it's forgery. For why ſhould a Sophiſt pitch upon a *Clodius*, for one of *Cicero*'s intimate friends; a name particularly hoſtile to *Cicero?* Why ſhould he feign him a *Tribun elect*, when the *Clodii* were generally *Patricians:* and incapable of the *Tribunate?* Why ſhould he give him a title, that carries with it an hiſtorical mark, that might poſſibly detect him; ſince it fixes the date of the letter to ſome time between the death of *Cæſar* and *the* 10*th of December*; on which day *the Tribuns elect* entered into Office? Why ſhould he imagin him to have been obliged to *Antony*, as well as to *Brutus*, and on that account ſuſpected in his allegiance to the Republic? Yet all this, I ſay, is natural for the true *Cicero* to write: for though the *Clodii* were generally in oppoſition to *Cicero*, yet in ſo numerous a family, there were ſome ſtill without doubt, who were his particular friends; ſome alſo, who muſt have been *Plebeians*, either by adoption or deſcent from the freedmen of the *Patrician* branch, who had recommended themſelves gradually to the honors of the ſtate: and the time of this letter was the very ſeaſon of people's taking their party, either for *Antony*, or *Brutus:* and in the caſe of a Tribun, *Cicero* would neceſſarily be ſollicitous to ſecure him to the Republic, and prevent any coldneſs between him and *Brutus*, that might alienate ſo powerfull a magiſtrate. But on the other hand, to ſuppoſe a Sophiſt ſitting down, with ſo much thought and contrivance, to dreſs up a mere dry fact, void of all entertainment to the reader, is an hypotheſis too forced and improbable, to be embraced by men of ſenſe, without ſolid reaſons to ſupport it.

As for *the Epiſtle*, as it is called, to *Octavius*, which is annexed to theſe letters in all the editions, our Critic, from an imaginary ſimilitude of ſtile, pronounces it to be of *the ſame ſtamp*, and to come from *the ſame hand* with the reſt [1]. Yet, as far as I am able to judge, any one, with a moderate uſe of the Latin tongue, would diſcover a manifeſt difference on the firſt reading. He himſelf allows the Epiſtles, which I am vindicating, to be *elegant and ſhining both in diction and ſentiment* ; declares ſome of them, as we have ſeen above, to be *fine compoſitions*, and juſtly admired by all, *who have any taſte of polite writing or any Sparks of liberty in them* [2]. But in this pretended Epiſtle, he would be puzzled to find a ſingle ſentiment, or a ſingle word, I may ſay, that ſhines. It is a ſtiff and forced performance ; void of all beauty either of ſtile or ſenſe ; ever flat and ſpiritleſs, where it labors the moſt to move : in ſhort, it is no Epiſtle, but the declamation of ſome boy, venting his indignation, and trying under the perſon of *Cicero*, how well he could harangue on the perfidy and ingratiude of

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[1] In Epiſtola ad *Octavium*, quæ propter multa ſimilitudinis veſtigia ab eadem manu profecta eſſe videtur. Tunſt. p. 221. Not. Epiſtola ad *Octavium*, quæ τȣ̃ αὐτȣ̃ κόμματος eſt. ib. 232. Not.

[2] Ib. p. 193. 200, 203, 251.

Octavius: but whatever ſimilitude our Critic may pretend to find between this and the other Epiſtles, yet time, the ſureſt judge and diſcerner of true and falſe, has made a moſt ſubſtantial difference between them, by rejecting the one and retaining the other: for there is not perhaps a ſingle perſon now living, who takes the one to be genuin; and very few, I believe, beſides our Critic, who hold the other to be forged. *Victorius* indeed, as our Critic takes notice, entertained a more favorable opinion of this piece [1]; and *thought it not very different either in expreſſion or ſentiment from Cicero's genuin manner:* which ſerves only to confirm, what I have already obſerved, concerning *the precarious nature of arguments drawn from ſtile*; ſince ſo learned and eminent a Critic was ſo eaſily deceived by it. I have added this piece however to the preſent collection, leſt it ſhould be thought the leſs perfect, for wanting any thing how contemptible ſoever, that is found in all the former editions.

I have now examined all our Critic's objections, which I took to have any weight in them, in the order in which he has ranged them; nor have willfully omitted any; but what are either too trifling to deſerve any notice; or are conſidered by me in the notes on the particular paſſages objected to. But our Critic himſelf will hardly accuſe me, of neglecting any of his capital arguments; or ſuch, as he had reaſon to lay any ſtreſs upon: and a great part of the reſt, which ariſe from corrupt *dates*, and the confuſion, in which the Epiſtles have hitherto lain, will be diſſipated at once by the very diſpoſition and order to which I have reduced them. On the whole, the reader muſt needs be ſurprized, to ſee ſo bold an attempt ſo weakly ſupported; and ſcarce a ſingle objection produced, but what is grounded either on miſtake, or miſapplication of the teſtimonies alledged to confirm it. How far any other Critic may venture hereafter upon the ſame attempt, and with what better ſucceſs, I will not take upon me to determine; but this I may ſafely affirm, that the glory of atchieving it can never be reſerved, after ſo many ages, to an adventurer, in the noviciate of his Criticiſm, and the very firſt eſſay of his ſkill.

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[1] Tunſt. 253.

As to the other part of his Latin Epiſtle, every one will eaſily gueſs from this ſketch of his critical talents, what the merit of it muſt be. It is all of a piece; exactly agreeable to the ſpecimen here given. For I have not ſingled out this part, as the moſt obnoxious, or moſt liable to be confuted; but as the onely one, in which men of letters and curioſity could be intereſted. The reſt was written by him as he profeſſes, with a view of raiſing ſome reputation to himſelf, by expoſing the faults of a work which has been received with approbation by the public [1]; and in purſuance of that deſign, he has employed it chiefly in conteſting the time and order of certain minute facts delivered in *the Life of Cicero*; which, whether true or falſe, are of little or no moment, either to the general truth of the hiſtory, or the credit of the work: and it cannot therefore be of any uſe or entertainment to the public, to be informed, whether he or I have blundered the moſt about them. Yet if I ſhould ever be invited by a proper occaſion, to enter upon that taſk, I could ſhew his whole performance, as eaſily as I have ſhewn this part of it, to be a frivolous, captious, diſingenuous piece of criticiſm; full of more real miſtakes within the compaſs of a little volume, than he pretends even to have found in the large work, which he has thought fit to criticiſe.

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[1] Commendatius inde inſtitutum illud noſtrum fore arbitrabar, ſi per earum Epiſtolarum ſcripturam depravatam, rerumque etiam ipſarum obſcuritatem, Te vel minus recta quædam pro certis venditaſſe, vel recta nonnunquam perperam intellexiſſe conſtaret. Vid. Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 1.

But to return once more to the Epiſtles. It may be proper, before I commit them to the reader, to put him in mind of an obſervation, which will enable him to judge the more clearly of this queſtion, of their authority. They were all, excepting the firſt, written within the compaſs of four months; from the beginning of *April*, to the end of *July*; and make frequent mention or reference to four principal facts; the times of which being known from *Cicero*'s genuin Epiſtles, may ſerve as ſo many *æra's* towards ſettling the dates of the particular letters. The firſt of thoſe facts is, the Conſul *Panſa's march out of Rome*, at the head of his army, to join his Collegue, *Hirtius*, *near Modena*; on which he ſet forward before the 30*th of March* [1]. The ſecond is, *the battle of Modena*, which happened on the 15*th of April* [2]. The third is, *the union of Lepidus with Antony*, on the 29*th of May* [3]. The fourth, *the vote of the Senate*, condemning *Lepidus* as an enemy, on the 30*th of June* [4]. Now if there be any mention of theſe facts in the following letters, which cannot be reconciled with their known dates, it muſt be allowed to be a ſtrong argument in favor of our Critic's hypotheſis; but if nothing of that kind can be found in them, it is a great confirmation, on the other hand, of their genuin authority.

To conclude; ſince theſe letters have never yet been reduced to their proper order by any of the Editors, but publiſhed generally, as they happened to be thrown together by the firſt collectors of them, from imperfect and mutilated copies; I have endeavoured to diſpoſe them in the very order, in which they were written; as far as it can be collected from the matter of the Epiſtles themſelves: which will clear them from many of the difficulties, and imaginary contradictions, with which they have been charged. As to *the Latin text*; I have formed it from a collation of the principal Editions, and the various readings collected by the ſeveral Editors; eſpecially by *Victorius*, *Manutius* and *Lambinus*. I have varied indeed in ſome places both from the printed and MS. copies; but thoſe variations are rare, and of little moment as to the ſenſe; yet ſuch as the ſyntax ſeemed manifeſtly to require. In my *Engliſh verſion*, I have purſued the maxim, which I laid down in the *Life of Cicero*, of attending in the firſt place to the ſentiment, and in the next, adhering to the letter, as cloſely as the genius of our tongue would allow me to expreſs it in an eaſy and familiar manner; ſuch as *Cicero* himſelf recommends for the ſtile of an Epiſtle. How far I have ſucceded in either caſe; in giving *Cicero*'s genuin words, or in rendring his genuin ſenſe; I readly ſubmit to the judgement of the reader.

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[1] Ep. Fam. 10. 10. [2] Ib. 30. [3] 23. 4 Ib. l. 12. 10.

M. TULLII CICERONIS AD M. BRUTUM, & BRUTI AD CICERONEM EPISTOLÆ.

EPISTOLA I.

CICERO BRUTO, S. D.

L. Clodius, tribunus plebis deſignatus, valde me diligit; vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat: quod

THE EPISTLES OF M. T. CICERO to M. BRUTUS, AND OF BRUTUS to CICERO.

EPIST. I.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

L. Clodius [1], *Tribun of the people* elect [2], *has a very great affection, or to ſpeak more emphatically, a very great love for*

cum

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[1] *Nonius Marcellus*, in obſerving the difference here made, between the Verbs, *amare* and *diligere*, cites this Letter, as from the *firſt book of Cicero's Epiſtles to Brutus.* [De different. nonnullar. diction. c. 5.] It was written therefore probably about the month of November, near to the expiration of *M. Antony*'s Conſulſhip, and after he had quitted the City, when people began to have a clear view of his deſigns, by his hoſtilities in the *Ciſalpine Gaul.*

It does not appear from any of *Cicero*'s Letters, who this *Clodius* was; or of what branch of the *Clodian* family. He muſt have been a Plebeian, on the account of his being a Tribun. All the editions of theſe Letters call him *Lucius*; but *Pighius*, in his Annals, takes him to be that *Caius Clodius*, mentioned by *Dio*; [l. 47. p. 340.] one of *Brutus*'s Lieutenants, and particular confidents in *Macedonia*; who was entruſted by him with the cuſtody of *C. Antonius*, of whom much will be ſaid in the following Letters: and if that conjecture be true, then *Cicero*'s recommendation of him, ſo warmly expreſſed in this Letter, had the deſired effect, of wiping out all ſuſpicions, that *Brutus* might have conceived of him.

[2] His title, of *Tribun elect*, was not derived, according to the ancient uſage, from

the

cùm mihi ita perſuaſum ſit, non dubito (bene enim me noſti) quin illum quoque judices à me amari. Nihil enim mihi minùs hominis videtur, quàm non reſpondere in amore iis, à quibus provocere. Is mihi viſus eſt ſuſpicari, nec ſine magno quidem dolore, aliquid à ſuis, vel per ſuos potiùs iniquos ad te eſſe delatum, quo tuus animus à ſe eſſet alienior. Non ſoleo, mi Brute, (quod tibi notum eſſe arbitror) temere affirmare de altero ; eſt enim periculoſum, propter occultas hominum voluntates, multipli-

me [3]. *As I am fully perſuaded of this, ſo I do not doubt, but that you, who thoroughly know me, will believe, that I have the ſame love alſo for him. For nothing in my opinion is leſs worthy of a man, than to be behind hand in good offices with thoſe, who invite you to their friendſhip. He ſeems to ſuſpect, and not without great concern, that ſomething has been written, or inſinuated to you rather in perſon, by his enemies* [4], *which has made an impreſſion on you to his diſadvantage. It is not uſual with me, my* Brutus, *as you, I imagine, well know, to affirm any thing too haſtily of another. The thing itſelf is hazardous, on the account of the dark inclinations,*

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the choice of the people, but the nomination of *J. Cæſar,* who a little before his death, upon the occaſion of his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians,* named *the Conſuls, and all the Tribuns,* for the two ſucceding years. [Ep. ad Att. l. 14. 6.] It determines however the date of the Letter to ſome time between the death of *Cæſar,* and the 10th of December ; on which day the Tribuns elect uſed to enter into their office.

[3] This diſtinction between the Verbs *amare* and *diligere,* is intimated alſo in ſome of his other Letters. Ep. fam. l. 9. 14. l. 33. 47.

[4] The different force of the præpoſitions, *a* and *per,* as they are here applied, is this ; that though both of them, when joined to a paſſive verb, denote the agent, or the efficient cauſe ; yet, *a,* relates properly to the remote or primary cauſe, *per,* to the immediate inſtrument producing the effect : for example ; information given, *a ſuis iniquis,* implies it's being given from a diſtance, *per alium,* or *per litteras* ; but given *per ſuos iniquos,* denotes the immediate and perſonal agency of his enemies. Thus

Filius meus—*per alium* oſtendit ſententiam ſuam. Ter. Heaut. 2. 1.

ceſque naturas. Clodii animum perſpectum habeo, cognitum, judicatum: multa ejus indicia, ſed ad ſcribendum non neceſſaria. Volo enim hoc teſtimonium tibi videri potiùs quàm epiſtolam. Auctus Antonii beneficio eſt: itaque eum, ſalvis nobis, vellet ſalvum. In eum autem locum rem adductam intelligit (eſt enim, ut ſcis, minime ſtultus) ut utrique ſalvi eſſe non poſſint: itaque nos mavult. De te verò amiciſſime & loquitur & ſentit. Quare

and variable natures of men [5]. *But* Clodius's *diſpoſition is perfectly underſtood, known, and tried by me. I have many proofs of it; but not neceſſary to be committed to writing: for I would have you look upon this, as a teſtimonial, rather than an epiſtle. He was advanced by* Antony's *favor; yet a great ſhare of that very favor came originally from you* [6]. *He would be glad therefore, to ſee him in ſafety; yet ſo, as to ſee us alſo ſafe at the ſame time: but he perceives things brought to ſuch a paſs* [7], *for he is, as you know, very far from a fool) that it is not poſſible for us both to be ſafe. He wiſhes therefore for us: and both talks, and thinks in the moſt*

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[5] The ſame ſentiment is expreſſed by him with his uſual elegance in different parts of his writings. " Every man's nature, ſays he, is wrapped up in many deceitfull teguments, and covered as it were from our notice with certain veils. The forehead, " the eyes, the countenance often deceives us, but moſt of all the tongue." [Ep. ad Quint. Fr. l. 1. 1. §. 5.] and in another place, " ſince there are ſo many dark holes, " and impenetrable receſſes in the minds of men." Pr. Marcell. 7.

[6] He had been firſt recommended moſt probably by *Brutus* to *Antony*, in order to procure *Cæſar*'s nomination of him to the Tribunate.

[7] This ſeems to refer, as I have hinted above, to ſome hoſtilities, actually committed by *Antony*, in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, againſt *D. Brutus*, who was blocked up by him in *Modena*, a Colony of *Rome*.

ſit,

ſi quis ſecus ad te de eo ſcripſit, aut ſi coràm locutus eſt, peto à te etiam atque etiam, mihi ut potiùs credas, qui & faciliùs judicare poſſum quàm ille neſcio quis, & te plus diligo. Clodium tibi amiciſſimum exiſtima, civemque talem, qualis & prudentiſſimus, & fortuna optima eſſe debet.

friendly manner of you. Wherefore if any one has written, or given you any different information about him; I earneſtly entreat you to give credit rather to me; who am both better able to judge of him, than any obſcure informer, and have a greater affection alſo for you. Look upon Clodius *then, as one perfectly well affected to you; and ſuch a Citizen, as one of the greateſt prudence, and the eaſieſt fortunes ought to be* [8].

EPISTOLA II.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

Litteras tuas valde exſpecto, quas ſcripſiſti poſt nuncios noſtrarum rerum, & de morte Trebonii: non enim dubito, quin mihi conſilium tuum explices. Indigno ſcelere & civem optimum amiſimus, & provinciæ poſſeſſione depulſi ſu-

EPIST. II.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

I Am in great expectation of the Letter, which you wrote, after the receit of my laſt expreſs, on the ſubject of my affairs and the death of Trebonius [1]. *For I make no doubt, but that you will give me your ſentiments on that occaſion. We have loſt an excellent Citizen, by a baſe act of vil-*

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[8] It is a juſt obſervation, which *Cicero* makes in different parts of his works, that men *of affluent fortunes are generally well affected to the peace and liberty of their country*, as being likely to be the greateſt ſufferers by any change, that tends to ſubvert the laws, and government, under which they live. [See Epiſt. 7. it. Philip. 13. 8.]

[1] *Brutus*, from the time of his leaving *Italy*, had ſent two public Letters to the Senate,

mus; quam recuperari facile eſt: neque minùs turpe aut flagitioſum erit, ſi poteſt, non recuperari. Antonius adhuc eſt nobiſcum: ſed mediusfidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo, ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat: planè æſtuo. Quod ſi ſcirem, quid tibi placeret; ſine ſollicitudine eſſem: id enim optimum eſſe,

lainy; *and are driven out of poſſeſſion of the Province, which yet may eaſily be recovered*; *nor will it be leſs baſe and ſcandalous in us, not to recover it, if it be poſſible.* Caius Antonius *is ſtill my priſoner: but in truth, I am moved by the prayers of the man*; *and afraid, leſt the madneſs of ſome ſhould make him an occaſion of miſchief to me* [2]. *I am wholly at a loſs, what to do with him. If I knew, what your opinion upon it* perſua-

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Senate, giving an account of the ſtate of his affairs abroad. The firſt informed them, how he had ſecured the greateſt part of *Macedonia*, *Illyricum* and *Greece*, with the ſeveral armies belonging to them, to the intereſts of the Republic, againſt the attempts of *Caius Antonius*; whom he had obliged to retire into *Apollonia*, with no more than *ſeven Cohorts*. Upon the receit of which news the Conſul *Panſa* immediately ſummoned the Senate, to whom *Cicero* delivered his *10th Philippic*, on the ſubject of decreeing proper honors and thanks to *Brutus* for his eminent ſervices. [See Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 363.] The ſecond expreſs, which is refered to in this Letter, brought a farther relation of *Brutus*'s ſucceſs, and his intire reduction of thoſe provinces, by the final defeat of *C. Antonius*; who was taken priſoner in the engagement by young *Cicero*, to whom *Brutus* had given the command of that day's action. [See Life. ib. p. 399.] The ſame expreſs gave an account alſo of the murther of *Trebonius* by *Dolabella*; who by that treachery had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Aſia*. But this laſt piece of news had been received at *Rome* before, directly from *Aſia*, while the Conſul *Panſa* was ſtill in the City, and gave occaſion to *Cicero's 11th Philippic*, ſpoken in a debate upon that ſubject; in which he diſplays at large the perfidy and inhumanity of *Dolabella*'s act, and recommends *Caſſius*, as the propereſt General to proſecute the war againſt him. As to *Trebonius*'s Character, and the manner of his death: See Life of Cic. ib. p. 233, 373.

[2] *C. Antonius*, Brother to *Mark Antony*, had been Prætor of the City the preceding year, when *Cæſar* was killed; and, near the expiration of his Prætorſhip, ſeized the Province of *Macedonia*, in virtue of a pretended allotment, made by his Brother the Conſul, in order to ſecure it againſt the deſigns of M. *Brutus*— who, after he had taken him priſoner, treated him with great lenity, and all the reſpect due to a Proconſul, and was inclined to give him his liberty, leſt his detention might occaſion ſome diſturbance in his camp, where many of the ſoldiers loved him, and a great part had ſerved under him. But *Cicero*'s conſtant remonſtrances, which we ſhall find in the following Letters, induced *Brutus*, againſt his inclination, to keep him ſtill in cuſtody: where after the league of *the Triumvirate*, and their cruel proſcription of all the friends of liberty, he

perſuaſum eſſet mihi. Quare quàm primùm fac me certiorem quid tibi placeat. Caſſius noſter Syriam, & legiones Syriacas habet; ultro quidem à Murco & à Marcio, & ab exercitu ipſo arceſſitus. Ego ſcripſi ad Tertiam ſororem & matrem; ne priùs ederent hoc, quod optimè ac feliciſſimè geſſit Caſſius, quàm tuum conſilium cognoviſſent, tibique viſum eſſet. Legi orationes duas tuas; quarum altera kal. Jan. uſus es; altera de litteris meis; quæ habita eſt abs te contra Calenum. Nunc ſcilicet hoc exſpectas, dum eas laudem.

was, I ſhould be at eaſe; for I ſhould perſuade myſelf, that it was the beſt. Let me know therefore, as ſoon as poſſible, what you would have me do. Our Caſſius *is in poſſeſſion of* Syria, *and the* Syrian Legions; *to which he was freely invited by* Murcus *and* Marcius, *as well as by the army itſelf* [3]. *I wrote to my ſiſter* Tertia, *and to my mother* [4], *that they ſhould not publiſh this moſt happy and fortunate turn of* Caſſius's *affairs, till they had conſulted you, and obtained your conſent* [5]. *I have read your two Orations; the one of which you ſpoke on the firſt of January; the other is on the ſubject of my Letters, in anſwer to* Calenus [6]. *You expect now, I ſuppoſe, that I ſhould praiſe them.*

Neſcio

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was put to death at laſt, as a particular ſacrifice to *the Manes of Cicero.* Plutar. in Brut.

[3] The account of this extraordinary ſucceſs of *Caſſius* in *Syria* is related more particularly in two ſeveral Letters, written on that occaſion to *Cicero* by *Caſſius* himſelf. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 11, 12. *L. Statius Murcus* and *Q. Marcius Criſpus*, were Cæſarian Generals, each at the head of three legions, and acting in conjunction againſt *Cæcilius Baſſus*, a Pompeian Commander, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Apamea* in *Syria*, which he maintained againſt them with a ſingle legion, which voluntarily ſubmitted to *Caſſius.* Dio. l. 47. Philip. 11. 12.

[4] *Brutus*'s Siſter, *Tertia*, was the wife of *Caſſius.* His Mother was *Servilia*; Siſter to M. *Cato*, by the ſame Mother, but a different Father, *Servilius:* for the daughters generally bore the name of their Father's family; except where there happened to be ſeveral of them in one houſe; who, in that caſe, were diſtinguiſhed uſually, according to the order of their birth, by the names of *Secunda*, *Tertia*, &c.

[5] The ground of *Brutus*'s ſcruples about the publication of this news at *Rome*, is explaned in the 4th Letter.

[6] The firſt of theſe Orations is the *fifth of Cicero's Philippics*, in which he warmly

exhorts

Neſcio animi an ingenii tui major in his libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epiſtola jocans ſcripſiſti. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia & ſupplemento: quarum altera poteſt abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars militum iſtinc mittatur nobis, vel ſecreto conſilio adverſus Panſam, vel actione in ſenatu: altera, quæ magis eſt neceſſaria, neque meo exercitui magis quàm

I do not know, what to praiſe the moſt in theſe pieces; your courage, or your abilities. I allow you now, to call them even Philippics, *as you intimated jocoſely in a former Letter* [1]. *I am in want of two things,* Cicero; *money and recruits: the one of which may be ſupplied by you, ſo as to ſend me from thence ſome part of the troops; either by ſome ſecret management, againſt the will of* Panſa [2]; *or by a motion in the Senate: the other, which is more neceſſary, nor yet more ſo to my army, than to thoſe of the other Commanders,*

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exhorts the Senate, inſtead of ſending Embaſſadors to *Antony*, which had been propoſed by *Calenus*, to declare him an enemy: and then decrees ſome extraordinary honors to *D. Brutus*, *M. Lepidus*, and *Octavius*—the ſecond is the tenth *Philippic*, ſpoken, as is ſaid above, upon the occaſion of *Brutus*'s firſt public Letters, in which *Cicero* decrees extraordinary honors to him, as due to his great ſervices and ſucceſs, in oppoſition to what was moved by *Calenus*, who had propoſed, that *Brutus* ſhould be required to give up the army, which he had raiſed by his private authority, to ſome Commander appointed by the Senate. This *Q. Fufius Calenus* was Father-in-law to the Conſul *Panſa*, had been made Conſul by *J. Cæſar*, and was *Antony*'s faſt friend, and the manager of his intereſts in the Senate againſt *Cicero*—See more of him, in Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 338, 349, 353.

[1] *Cicero* called theſe Orations, *Philippics*, in imitation of *Demoſthenes*'s Orations againſt *Philip of Macedon*, as being chiefly of the ſame nature with thoſe of *Demoſthenes*; a ſeries of invective Orations delivered to his Citizens, againſt M. *Antony*, the public enemy of the State: yet they were called indifferently, for ſome ages, either *Philippics* or *Antonians*. A. Gell. l. 13. 1. Lif. of Cic. vol. 2. p. 370.

[2] C. *Panſa*, the Conſul, had been very buſy for ſome time paſt, in raiſing new levies and gathering all the troops, that he could, in order to march with them to the aſſiſtance of his Collegue *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, who were already gone, each at the head of a veteran army, to the relief of *Modena*; in which *D. Brutus* was cloſely beſieged, and reduced almoſt to extremity by *Antony*. He marched therefore out of *Rome* with his army, in the end of *March*, a few days before the date of this Letter, though *Brutus* had not yet heard of it, and was unwilling to ſpare any forces out of *Italy*, for reaſons, which will be ſignified in Letter the 4th.

reliquorum, * * hoc magis doleo Aſiam * * nos amiſiſſe: quam ſic vexari à Dolabella audio, ut jam non videatur crudeliſſimum ejus facinus, interfectio Trebonii. Vetus Antiſtius me tamen pecunia ſub-

[*cannot perhaps be ſupplied ſo eaſily* [1]]. *For this reaſon, I am the more concerned* * * *for our loſs of* Aſia [2] : *which is ſo miſerably haraſſed, I hear, by* Dolabella [3], *that the murther of* Trebonius *can no longer be thought his cruelleſt act*. Vetus Antiſtius *however has relieved me with mo-*

levavit.

The words in the Latin text, *vel ſecreto conſilio adverſus Panſam*, may poſſibly bear a different interpretation from what I have given them : for if *adverſus*, as it is ſometimes uſed, ſhould be thought to have the ſame meaning here as *apud Panſam*, then the tranſlation of the ſentence ſhould be, *by ſome private conſultation in concert with Panſa*, but the other ſenſe is the moſt natural ; ſince Brutus might well be ſuppoſed to know, for reaſons very obvious, that Panſa would not conſent to ſend any troops at that time out of Italy.

[1] There is ſomething wanted at this place in the text, to complete the ſenſe, which *And. Patricius* ſupplies, by the Words [*vix poteſt.*] It was ſomewhat moſt probably of a ſimilar turn, and agreeable to what I have inſerted in the tranſlation. [*See Patric. Not. in Fragment. Epiſt. ad Brut.*] The remaining part of the Letter is printed ſeparately in the common Editions ; as if it were a Fragment, or concluſion of a different Letter ; but *Sigonius*, *Manutius* and *Patricius*, who had conſidered theſe fragments with a particular attention, have added it to this place ; with which it ſeems to ſuit ſo naturally, as to make it probable, though not certain, that it might originally have belonged to it.

[2] *Aſia* was a Province, remarkably rich and fruitfull ; and of all others the moſt conveniently ſituated for ſupplying *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with what they particularly wanted ; money and the other neceſſaries of war ; which made the loſs of it at this time the more ſenſibly felt and regretted.

[3] *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was *Cicero*'s Son-in-law ; the third huſband of his daughter *Tullia*, from whom he was divorced a little before her death. *Cicero* however, both before and after that divorce, continued to keep up a fair correſpondence with him ; and more eſpecially after *Cæſar*'s death, when he was Conſul with *M. Antony*, he took great pains to preſerve his authority with him ; in order to engage him to the intereſts of the Republic, and to uſe him as a check upon his Collegue, *Antony* ; of which *Dolabella* for ſome time gave him great hopes : but being ambitious, needy and void of every good principle, he was bribed and wholly gained at laſt by *Antony* ; in concert with whom he formed a project to ſeize the Province of *Syria*, and to ſecure the Eaſtern part of the Empire againſt the attempts of *Caſſius* : and in purſuance of that reſolution, as he was paſſing through *Aſia*, he ſurpriſed and took the City of *Smyrna*

by

levavit. Cicero filius tuus ſic mihi ſe probat, induſtria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorſus numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem, cujus ſit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non poſſum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi eſt cariſſimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi perſuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiſcatur honores paternos. Kalend. April. Dyrrachio.

ney [1]. Cicero, *your ſon, recommends himſelf to me ſo effectually by his induſtry, patience, activity, greatneſs of mind, and in ſhort, by every duty, that he ſeems never to drop the remembrance, of whoſe ſon he is. Wherefore, ſince it is not poſſible for me, to make you love him more, than you do already; yet allow thus much to my judgement, as to perſuade yourſelf, that he will have no occaſion to borrow any ſhare of your glory, in order to obtain his Father's honors* [2]. April 1ſt, *from* Dyrrhachium.

EPISTOLA III.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

PLanci animum in rempublicam egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litte-

EPIST. III.

CICERO to BRUMUS,

FROM Plancus's *Letter* [1], *a copy of which, I imagine, has been ſent to you, you have been*

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by treachery, where the Proconſul *Trebonius* reſided; whom he put to death with the utmoſt cruelty; and having by this means got poſſeſſion of *Aſia*, began preſently to waſt and plunder it of every thing that was uſeful for war; for which he was declared an enemy by the Senate. See a farther account of his character and death, in the Life of *Cicero*, v. 2. p. 40, 264, 373, 444, *&c.*

[1] See Letter the ſixth.

[2] This good character of *Cicero*'s ſon, to whom *Brutus* had given the command of his horſe, is confirmed by the Letters of other friends, during his continuance at *Athens*, and with *Brutus*. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 14, 16. See an account of him at large, *in Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 570.

[3] *L. Plancus* was *Conſul elect* for the enſuing year, by the nomination of *J. Cæſar*; and

ris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi miſſum arbitror, perſpicere potuiſti. Lepidi tui neceſſarii, qui ſecundùm fratrem affines habet, quos oderit proximos, levitatem & inconſtantiam, animumque ſemper inimicum reipublicæ, jam credo tibi ex tuorum litteris eſſe perſpectum. Nos exſpectatio ſollicitat, quæ eſt omnis jam in extremum

able to inform yourſelf of his excellent diſpoſition towards the Republic; with the condition of his Legions, auxiliaries, and whole forces. From the letters alſo of your own people, you are convinced, I believe, by this time, of the levity, inconſtancy, and perpetual diſaffection of your friend Lepidus [1]; *who, next to his own brother* [2], *hates you, his near relations, the moſt* [3]. *We are anxious with expectation, which is*

adducta

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and now commanded the farther *Gaul,* with Proconſular authority. His Letter here refered to was a public one, ſtill extant; addreſſed to *the Magiſtrates, Senate and People of Rome.* [Ep. Fam. l. 10. 8.] It was received and read in the Senate, on *the 7th of April,* where it occaſioned a warm debate for two days ſucceſſively, of which *Cicero* gave *Plancus* an account in a letter dated the 11th of April. [Ep. Fam. 10. 12.] This Letter therefore to *Brutus* muſt have been written about the ſame time, within a day or two after the ſame debate, which is alluded to below. The reader will find a large account of *Plancus,* in the Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 404, 436, 446, 461.

[1] *M. Æmilius Lepidus* appears to have been a weak, vain, inconſtant man; void of all good intentions towards the Rupublic; and governing himſelf wholly by ſuch motives, as flattered his vanity, or ſerved his ambition. *D. Brutus,* in a Letter to *Cicero,* calls him, *hominem ventoſiſſimum*; light and changeable as the wind; and *never diſpoſed, to do any thing that was right.* [Ep. Fam. 11. 9.] See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 250, 494.] The particular inſtance of his diſaffection, for which *Cicero* cenſures him here ſo ſeverely, was not, as *Mr. Tunſtall* interprets it, the act of receiving *Antony* into his camp, after his flight from *Modena,* for that was above ſix weeks later, but his ſending a body of troops to *Antony's aſſiſtance before Modena,* under two of his Lieutenants, *Silanus* and *Culleo:* which he endeavoured afterwards to excuſe, in a Letter to *Cicero,* dated the 22d of May, as done againſt his orders, and by the perfidy of thoſe Officers. Ep. Fam. l. 10. 34.

[2] *Lepidus*'s Brother was *Paullus Æmilius Lepidus,* who had been Conſul ſeven years before, with *C. Marcellus,* when he was ſaid to have ſold himſelf to *Cæſar.* [See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 49.] But at this time he was acting a contrary part, and appears to have been zealous in the cauſe of the Republic: for after the defeat of *Antony,* and death of the Conſuls, he made a motion in the Senate, that *the fourth and martial* Legions, which were both veteran, and had put themſelves under the command of *Octavius,* ſhould be delivered up by him to *D. Brutus:* [Ep. Fam. l. 11. 19.] for which he was afterwards proſcribed by the Triumvirate, with the conſent of his Brother.

[3] *Lepidus*'s wife and *Caſſius*'s were Siſters to *M. Brutus,* and both living at this time

in

adducta diſcrimen. Eſt enim ſpes omnis in Bruto expediendo, de quo vehementer timebamus. Ego hic cum homine furioſo ſatis habeo negotii, Servilio; quem tuli diutiùs quàm dignitas mea patiebatur: ſed tuli reipublicæ cauſa; ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parùm ſanum illum quidem, ſed tamen nobilem, quò concurrerent: quod faciunt nihilominus: ſed eum alienandum à republica non putabam. Finem feci ejus ferendi: cœperat enim eſſe tanta inſolentia, ut neminem liberum duceret: In Planci verò cauſa exarſit incredibili dolore; mecumque per biduum ita contendit, & à me ita fractus eſt; ut eum in perpetuum modeſtiorem ſperem fore. Atque in

now reduced to the laſt criſis. All our hopes are fixed on the delivery of Brutus; *for whom we have been under great apprehenſions* [1]. *I have buſineſs enough here upon my hands with the madman,* Servilius [2]; *whom I have endured longer, than became my dignity: but I did it for the ſake of the Republic; leſt I ſhould give our profligate Citizens a leader, though of little ſenſe indeed himſelf, yet noble, to reſort to: which nevertheleſs they ſtill do: but I did not think it convenient to alienate him from the Republic. I have now put an end to my forbearance of him; for he began to grow ſo inſolent, that he looked upon every man as a Slave. But in the debate about* Plancus *he was ſtrangely mortified; and, after a conteſt with me for two days, was ſo roughly handled by me, that he will always, I hope, be the modeſter for it hereafter* [3]. *In the midſt*

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in *Rome*. Thus *Cicero* alſo begins one of his Letters to *Caſſius*; *the perfidy of your Kinſman Lepidus*, &c. [Ep. Fam. 12.]

[1] They were expecting every day at *Rome*, to hear of a deciſive action at *Modena*, where *D. Brutus* had been beſieged near four months: and within a few days after this Letter was written, they had the joyful news of *Antony*'s defeat. See Let. 8th. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 417.

[2] *P. Servilius* was Conſul with *J. Cæſar*, five years before, when *Cæſar* followed *Pompey* into *Greece*, and fought with him at *Pharſalia*. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 411.

[3] The debate here mentioned, about the caſe of *Plancus*, is more particularly related by *Cicero* in a Letter to *Plancus* himſelf. Ep. Fam. 10. 12.

hac contentione ipſa. quum maximè res ageretur a. d. v. id. April. litteræ mihi in ſenatu redditæ ſunt à Lentulo noſtro; de Caſſio, de legionibus, de Syria: quas ſtatim cum recitaviſſem cecidit Servilius; complures præterea: ſunt enim inſignes aliquot, qui improbiſſime ſentiunt: ſed acerbiſſime tulit Servilius, aſſenſum eſſe mihi de Planco. Magnum illud monſtrum in repub. eſt ſed quo * *.

of this contention, and in the very heat of the debate, on the ninth of April, *a Letter was delivered to me in the Senate from our* Lentulus [1]; *giving an account of* Caſſius, the Legions, *and* Syria; *which when I had read preſently in public,* Servilius *ſunk*; *and many more beſides: for there are ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed rank, moſt wickedly affected: but* Servilius *was cruelly chagrined to ſee the Senate aſſent to my motion about* Plancus. *The part which he acts in the Republic, is very monſtrous: but whither* * * * *,

EPISTOLA IV.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

DATIS mane a. d. III. id April. Scaptio litteris, eodem die tuas accepi kal. April. Dyrrachio datas, veſperi:

EPIST. IV.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

AFTER *I had given my Letter to* Scaptius [2], *on the* 11th of April *in the morning* [3], *I received one from you the ſame day in the evening, dated from*

ire,

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[1] This *P. Lentulus* was the Son of *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was Conſul in the time of *Cicero*'s exil, and the chief author of his reſtoration. The Son was *Quæſtor in Aſia* to *Trebonius*; and, upon *Trebonius*'s death, took upon him the adminiſtration and defence of that Province, in oppoſition to *Dolabella*; by whom however he was driven out of it. See his Letters to *Cicero*. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 14, 15.

[2] This refers moſt probably to the preceding Letter, which is now imperfect in the concluſion, but muſt have been written, as I have ſhewn in the notes, on *the* 10*th, or* 11*th of April.*

[3] All the Editions exhibit here, (*a. d. vi. id. April.*) or *the* 8*th of April*; whereas the

itaque mane prid. id. April. cum à Scaptio certior factus eſſem, non eſſe eos profectos, quibus pridie dederat, & ſtatim ire, hoc paullulum exaravi ipſa in turba matutinæ ſalutationis. De Caſſio lætor & reipublicæ gratulor: mihi etiam, qui, repugnante & iraſcente Panſa, ſententiam dixerim; ut Dolabellam bello Caſſius perſequeretur: Et quidem audacter dicebam, ſine noſtro ſenatusconſulto jam illud eum bellum gerere. De te etiam dixi, tum quæ dicenda putavi. Hæc ad te oratio perferetur; quoniam

Dyrrachium, *on* the firſt of April [1]. *Being informed therefore by* Scaptius [2] *early on* the 12th, *that the meſſengers, to whom he had delivered* [3] *my Letters the day before, were not yet ſet forward, but were going away immediately, I ſcratched out this ſhort Letter, in the croud of my morning viſitors. I rejoice at* Caſſius's *ſucceſs, and congratulate the Republic upon it; and myſelf alſo, who againſt the will, and to the diſpleaſure even of* Panſa, *moved the Senate, that* Caſſius *ſhould have the conduct of the war againſt* Dolabella*: nay I boldly declared, that without waiting for a decree of the Senate, he was already proſecuting that war. I ſpoke alſo concerning you, what I thought proper to be ſaid at that time. This Speech ſhall be conveyed to*

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the words of the letter declare it to have been written, [a. d. iii. id.] or on the eleventh: the date likewiſe at the end, as it ſtands in the Editions, is [id. Apr.] or *the 13th*; though it appears from the letter, that it ſhould have been, [prid. id.] or *the 12th*. Since the original dates then have been unqueſtionably corrupted by the negligence of tranſcribers, I found it neceſſary to reduce them to a conformity with the letter, agreeably to what I have ſaid on that ſubject in my Preface.

[1] Letter the ſecond, from *Brutus* to *Cicero*, as above.

[2] There were two *Scaptius's*, who are mentioned by *Cicero*, during his government of *Cilicia*, as the managers of *Brutus*'s affairs; the one in *Cappadocia*, the other in *Cyprus*: to the firſt of whom, at *Brutus*'s deſire, he granted a Præfecture and Tribunate in the army. Epiſt. ad Att. l. 6. 1, 3.

[3] All the Editions give us in this place *dederam*, as referable to *Cicero*, ſpeaking of himſelf. But the context makes it neceſſary, I think, to change it to *dederat*, in the third perſon, as being clearly applicable to *Scaptius*.

cognote video delectari Philippicis noſtris. Quòd me de Antonio conſulis: quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, cuſtodiendum puto. Ex his litteris, quas mihi miſiſti; Dolabella Aſiam vexare videtur, & in ea ſe gerere teterrime: compluribus autem ſcripſiſti, *Dolabellam à Rhodiis eſſe excluſum:* qui ſi ad Rhodum acceſſit, videtur mihi Aſiam reliquiſſe. Id ſi ita eſt, iſtic tibi cenſeo commorandum: ſin eam ſemel cepit, mihi crede, non erit; at in Aſiam cenſeo perſequendum. Nihil mihi videris hoc tempore melius acturus. * * Quod egere

to you [1]; *ſince you are pleaſed, I perceive, with my* Philippics. *As to my advice, which you aſk about* C. Antonius, *I think, that he ſhould be kept in cuſtody, till you know the fate of* D. Brutus. *By the Letters which you ſent to me,* Dolabella *ſeems ſtill to be haraſſing* Aſia, *and acting in it moſt villainouſly* [2]: *Yet you wrote to ſeveral others, that he had been refuſed admittance by the* Rhodians: *If he really came to* Rhodes, *I take him to have quitted* Aſia. *If that be the caſe, I am of opinion, that you ſhould ſtay where you are; but if he has got poſſeſſion of that Province, take my word for it, you muſt not ſtay* * * * *but ſhould purſue him directly into* Aſia: *You can do nothing more ſerviceable in our preſent circumſtances* [3]. * * *As*

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[1] This affair of *Cicero*'s oppoſition to *Panſa* in favor of *Caſſius*, and what he declared on that occaſion, to the Senate and to the people, is ſignified in a particular Letter to *Caſſius* himſelf. Ep. Fam. 12. 7. His Speech upon it to the Senate, which he promiſes here to ſend to *Brutus*, is the 11th *Philippic*. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 376.

[2] *P. Lentulus* alſo, in a Letter to *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Dolabella*'s cruelties, ſays; *after he had laid waſte the Province, ſeized the public revenues, moſt cruelly plundered the Roman Citizens, and even ſold them for Slaves,* he quitted *Aſia*. Ep. Fam. 12. 15.

[3] The remainder of this Letter is printed ſeparately in the common Editions, as a diſtinct Epiſtle without any date: but *P. Manutius* and *And. Patricius* have connected it with the foregoing part dated April 12th: as ſeeming to be a continuation of *Cicero*'s anſwer to the ſeveral particulars of *Brutus*'s Letters above, and in ſuch a manner, as might be expected from one writing, as he ſays, in haſte, and in a croud.

te duabus neceſſariis rebus ſcribis, *ſupplemento & pecunia*, difficile conſilium eſt: non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te poſſe videam, præter illas, quas ſenatus decrevit; ut pecunias à civitatibus mutuas ſumeres. De ſupplemento autem non video quid fieri poſſit: tantum enim abeſt, ut Panſa de exercitu ſuo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleſte ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quòd his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis

to what you write, that you are in want of two neceſſary things, recruits and money; it is difficult to help you. I cannot think of any other way to raiſe money, which could be of uſe to you, but that, which the Senate has decreed, that you ſhould borrow it from the Cities [9]. *But as to recruits, I do not ſee what is poſſible to be done. For* Panſa *is ſo far from granting any ſhare of his army, or new levies to you, that he is even uneaſy, to ſee ſo many volunteers going over to you. His reaſon for it, as I really believe, is; that he thinks no forces too great for the demand of our affairs in* Italy; [10] *but, as many ſuſpect, it is, becauſe he has no mind to ſee you too*

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[9] Upon the receit of *Brutus*'s letters, the Senate decreed at *Cicero*'s motion, and in his words, that *Brutus ſhould borrow money, on the public credit, for the ſupport of the war, from whomſoever he thought fit.* Phil. 10. 11.

[10] *Panſa* certainly judged right, in imagining the ſtreſs of the war to lie at preſent in *Italy*; and the fate of the republic to depend principally on their ſucceſs before *Modena*; where, as the event ſhewed, the united forces of the two Conſuls and *Octavius*, with the help alſo of *D. Brutus*, were but barely ſufficient, and not without great difficulty, to get the better of *Antony*. What is ſaid in this letter concerning *Panſa*, would lead one to imagine, that he was in *Rome*, at the time when *Cicero* wrote it: and if ſo, the latter part of the letter, annexed here as I have obſerved, by *Manutius*, cannot belong to the former part, which bears date on *April 12th*; becauſe *Panſa* quitted *Rome* before the end of *March*. [Ep. Fam. 10. 10.] But the paſſage does not neceſſarily require that interpretation; but may allude onely perhaps to *Panſa*'s known inclination; and to what he had declared to *Cicero* on that ſubject before he left *Rome*: who when he quitted it, left one of his legions ſtill behind for the guard of the City, and might leave orders withal, that no part of it ſhould be ſent away to *Brutus*.

magnas eſſe arbitretur; quomodo autem multi ſuſpicantur, quòd ne te quidem nimis firmum eſſe velit: quod ego non ſuſpicor. Quod ſcribis, *te ad Tertiam ſororem ſcripſiſſe, ut ne priùs ederent ea, quæ geſta à Caſſio eſſent, quàm mihi viſum eſſet*; video te veritum eſſe id quod verendum fuit; ne animi partium Cæſaris, quomodo etiam nunc partes appellantur, vehementer commoverentur. Sed antè quàm tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata: tui etiam tabellarii ad multos familiares tuos litteras attulerant. Quare ne-

too ſtrong; *of which I have no ſuſpicion* [11]. *As to what you ſay*, that you had written to your Siſter Tertia, not to publiſh the good news about Caſſius, before they had taken my opinion upon it; *you were afraid, I perceive, of what indeed was to be apprehended, leſt the minds of the* Cæſarian *party, as our parties are even ſtill diſtinguiſhed, ſhould be greatly ſhocked at it* [12.] *But before we had received your letters, that affair was known and divulged* [13]; *and your own Meſſengers alſo had brought other letters to many of your friends. The*

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[11] *Brutus* and his friends greatly ſuſpected the fidelity of the Conſuls; but *Cicero*, who had converſed with them more intimately, than any of his party, always diſcouraged thoſe ſuſpicions, and vindicated the integrity of their intentions; which was ſhortly after confirmed by their behaviour at *Modena*, where they both loſt their lives in the defence of their country. Upon which occaſion *Cicero* puts *Brutus* in mind in a following Letter, that they had anſwered to the character, which he had always given of them. See Epiſt. 8. note [3] and Epiſt. 9. note [12].

[12] *Brutus*'s caution about the publication of this news ſeems to have been well grounded, as *Cicero* allows indeed in this Letter, but ſignifies more clearly in ſome of his *Philippics*; where he takes great pains to refute the inſinuations, invidiouſly thrown out by the oppoſite party, of the danger, that might be apprehended, from the exceſſive power of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. Vid. Phil. 10. 7. it. 11. 14, 15.

[13] The firſt account of this news came probably from *Centulus*'s Letter, which *Cicero* read to the Senate, as it is mentioned *in Epiſt. the 3d*; which ſeems to have arrived about two days before *Brutus*'s letter.

que ſupprimenda res erat, præſertim cùm id fieri non poſſet; neque ſi poſſet, non divulgandam potiùs, quàm occultandam putaremus. De Cicerone meo, & ſi tantum eſt in eo quantum ſcribis, tantum ſcilicet quantum debeo gaudeo; & ſi quòd amas eum eò majora facis, id ipſum incredibiliter gaudeo, à te eum diligi. Prid. id. April.

EPISTOLA V.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

QUÆ litteræ tuo nomine recitatæ ſint id. April. in ſenatu, eodemque tempore Antonii, credo ad te ſcripſiſſe tuos; quorum ego nemini concedo. Sed nihil neceſſe erat eadem omnes: illud neceſſe me ad te ſcribere; quid ſentirem de tota conſtitutione hujus belli, & quo judicio eſſem, quaque ſententia. Voluntas mea, Brute, de ſumma republica ſemper eadem fuit,

thing therefore could not be ſuppreſſed, ſince that was already out of our power; yet if it had been otherwiſe, we ſhould have thought it proper to be publiſhed, rather than concealed. As to my Son, if his merit be really as great, as you write, I rejoice at it, as much as I ought to do: or if you make it greater than it is, becauſe you love him, even that alſo gives me an incredible joy, to find that he is beloved by you. April the 12th.

EPIST. V.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

W*HAT Letters were read in the Senate on the* 13th of April, *in your name, and at the ſame time, in* Antonius's, *you have been informed, I ſuppoſe, by your people; to none of whom I give place, in point of affection for you. But there was no neceſſity, that we ſhould all write on the ſame ſubject. The part, that belongs neceſſarily to me, is, to ſignify my ſentiments on the whole ſtate of this war; what my judgement of it is; what my ground of voting in the Senate. My general view,* Brutus, *with regard to public affairs, has always been the ſame with yours; though my mea-*

quæ tua; ratio quibusdam in rebus (non enim omnibus) paullo fortaſſe vehementior. Scis mihi ſemper placuiſſe, non rege ſolùm, ſed regno liberari rempublicam: tu leniùs; immortali omnino cum tua laude; ſed quid melius fuerit; magno dolore ſenſimus, magno periculo ſentimus. Recenti illo tempore, tu omnia ad pacem, quæ oratione confici non poterat: ego omnia ad libertatem, quæ ſine pace nulla eſt: pacem ipſam bello atque armis effici poſſe arbitrabar. Studia non deerant arma poſcentium, quorum repreſſimus impetum,

meaſures, in ſome particular caſes, for I cannot ſay in all, have been perhaps a little more vehement [1]. *It was ever my wiſh, as you know, to ſee the Republic freed, not onely from a Tyrant, but from Tyranny itſelf. You were for milder counſils; and with immortal honor to yourſelf: but which of the two was the better, we have felt to our great grief, and ſtill feel to our great danger. In that time of our late confuſion* [2], *all your aim was bent on peace, which was not to be obtained by Speeches; mine on liberty; which is nothing indeed without peace: but a real peace, I imagined, was to be procured onely by war and force of arms. There was no zeal wanting in the people, who called aloud for arms: but we diſcouraged their vigor,*

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[1] After the death of *Cæſar*, *Cicero* was conſtantly urging *Brutus* and his accomplices, to ſupport that act by vigorous meaſures, and to arm themſelves againſt the diſſimulation and ambitious views of *M. Antony*. *Brutus* on the other hand was bent on pacific counſils, and perſuaded, that the integrity of their cauſe would work it's own way, and unite all people in defence of that liberty, which was offered to them; and having conceived ſome hopes alſo of *Antony*, he was willing to pay all due reſpect to his Conſular authority; nor to take any ſtep, but in the ordinary forms of the conſtitution: and even after he was driven out of the City by *Antony*'s intrigues, he adhered to the ſame maxims; lived retired in the country, and diſmiſſed the concourſe of his friends, who reſorted to him from all parts of *Italy*, and were eager to take arms in his cauſe. This is the ground of *Cicero*'s expoſtulation with him in the firſt part of this Letter; where he reminds him likewiſe of his original miſtake, in ſaving *Antony*, at the time when *Cæſar* was killed, as being the cauſe of all the trouble, which they had ſince ſuffered, and of the danger to which they were now expoſed.

[2] Which was occaſioned by *Cæſar*'s death.

ardoremque reſtinximus. Itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut niſi Cæſari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dediſſet, in poteſtatem perditiſſimi hominis & turpiſſimi, M. Antonii, veniendum fuerit: quocum vides hoc tempore ipſo quod ſit quantumque certamen. Id profectò nullum eſſet, niſi tum conſervatus eſſet Antonius. Sed hæc omitto: res enim à te geſta, memorabilis & penè cœleſtis, repellit omnes reprehen-

and extinguiſhed their ardor [3]. *Our affairs therefore were reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that unleſs ſome God had inſpired* Cæſar Octavianus *with that reſolution, which he exerted, we muſt have fallen into the power of a moſt deſperate and infamous man,* M. Antony [4]; *with whom you ſee at this very time, how great and difficult a ſtruggle we have upon our hands* [5]: *which would have been wholly avoided, if* Antony *had not then been preſerved* [6]. *But I omit what is paſt: for that memorable and almoſt cæleſtial act of yours is ſo far ſuperior to all reprehenſion,*

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[3] This was owing to the pacific meaſures of the Conſpirators, and eſpecially of *Brutus*; which gave their enemies time to arm themſelves, and gather ſuch a force about them, as proved ſtrong enough in the end, to deſtroy both them and the Republic. Thus in a letter to *Antony*, written jointly by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, they put him in mind, *how they had voluntarily thrown themſelves into his power*; *and, by his advice, had diſmiſſed the guard of their friends, who reſorted to them from the principal Towns of Italy.* Ep. Fam. 11. 2.

[4] *Octavius*, who, by the will of his Uncle, *J. Cæſar*, was left the heir of his name and eſtate, finding himſelf ill treated by the Conſul *Antony*, and likely to be deprived by him of that ſucceſſion, betook himſelf directly to arms, though but *eighteen years old*; and by great bribes and greater promiſes, preſently drew together a ſtrong army of veterans, who had ſerved his Uncle in his wars, and were diſperſed in the ſeveral colonies of *Italy*. With theſe he declared for the authority of the Senate, and marched into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to cover it from the inſults of *Antony*; who would otherwiſe have made himſelf maſter of it, but was obliged by this diſappointment to carry the war into *Ciſalpine Gaul*. [Phil. 3. 2. 5. 11.] where *D. Brutus* had fortified himſelf in *Modena*; which he held out againſt him, till the Conſuls *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, in conjunction with *Octavius*, came with their ſeveral armies to his relief.

[5] In *Ciſalpine Gaul*, where *Modena* was now beſieged, and reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity by *Antony*.

[6] At the time when *Cæſar* was killed; for which piece of ſcrupulous and unſeaſonable clemency, *Cicero* reproves the other chiefs alſo of the Conſpiracy, in his letters to them. Ep. Fam. 10. 28. 12. 4.

ſiones: quippe quæ ne laude quidem ſatis idonea affici poſſit. Exſtitiſti nuper vultu ſevero: exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparaſti. Dii immortales! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ literæ, quæ lætitia ſenatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat! nihil umquam vidi tam omnium conſenſione laudatum. Erat exſpectatio reliquiarum Antonii; quem equitatu, legionibuſque magna ex parte ſpoliaras: ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem. Nam tuæ litteræ, quæ recitatæ in ſenatu ſunt, & imperatoris conſilium, & militum virtutem, & induſtriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod ſi tuis placuiſſet de his literis referri; & niſi in tempus turbulentiſſimum, poſt diſceſſum Panſæ conſulis, incidiſſent, honos quo-

that it cannot even be praiſed ſo much, as it deſerves [7]. *You have aſſumed of late an air of ſeverity; and have drawn together in a ſhort time by your own vigor, a competent army, forces, Legions. Good Gods! how welcom was that expreſs of yours? how thoſe letters* [8]? *What a joy did they raiſe in the Senate? what alacrity in the City? I never ſaw any thing ſo univerſally applauded. We were in ſome ſuſpenſe ſtill, about the remains of* C. Antonius; *whom you had deprived of his horſe, and in great part of his legions: but that affair alſo had ſuch an end as we wiſhed. For your letter, which was read in the Senate* [9], *ſhews the prudence of the General, the virtue of your Soldiers, the induſtry of your Officers, and in particular of my* Cicero. *If your friends had been willing to move the Senate upon it, and if it had not fallen into a moſt turbulent time, after the departure of the Conſul* Panſa [10], *ſome juſt and proper honor would have*

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[7] The act of *killing Cæſar* in the Senate; which *Cicero* afterwards, in a Speech to the ſame Senate, called, *the moſt glorious, that was ever performed in any City,* Phil. 2. 12.

[8] This refers to *Brutus*'s firſt expreſs, which brought account to the Senate of *his* unexpected ſucceſs in *Macedonia*. See Note [1] Epiſt. 2d.

[9] This relates to *Brutus*'s 2d expreſs. See Note ib.

[10] Who marched out of *Rome* a little before the arrival of the ſecond expreſs, with a new raiſed army towards *Modena,* in order to join with *Hirtius* and *Octavius,* and give battle to *Antony.*

mortalique juſtus & debitus diis immortalibus decretus eſſet. Ecce tibi idib. April. advolat manè celer Pilus: qui vir! dii boni, quàm gravis! quàm conſtans! quàm bonarum in republica partium! Hic epiſtolas affert duas; unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii: dat Servilio tribuno plebis: ille Cornuto: recitantur in ſenatu. ANTONIUS PROCOS. magna admiratio; ut ſi eſſet recitatum, DOLABELLA IMPERATOR; à quo quidem venerant tabellarii; ſed nemo Pili ſimilis, qui proferre litteras auderet, aut magiſtratibus reddere. Tuæ recitantur; breves

been decreed for it to the Gods [11]. *In this interval,* on the 13th of April, *in the morning, your nimble Courier,* Pilus, *comes flying to us. What a man! good Gods! how important? how conſtant to himſelf? how zealous in the cauſe of the Republic? he brings with him two letters; one in your name; the other in* C. Antonius*'s*: *gives them to* Servilius, *the Tribun; he, to* Cornutus *the Prætor* [12]: *they are read in the Senate,* ANTONIUS PROCONSUL [13]; *raiſed as much admiration, as if any one had read;* DOLABELLA EMPEROUR. *From whom alſo there came an expreſs; but there was no body, like your* Pilus, *ſo hardy, as to produce the letters, or deliver them to the magiſtrates. Your*

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[11] It was always uſual, upon the news of any ſignal victory, ſignified in form to the Senate by their Generals abroad, to decree a *Supplication* or *public Thankſgiving* to the Gods, for a number of days ſucceſſively; proportionable to the importance of the victory, and the reputation of the General.

[12] The Tribuns had the power of convoking the Senate in the abſence of the ſuperior magiſtrates. In virtue of which, they ſummoned that meeting, on the *20th of December,* when *Cicero* ſpoke his *third Philippic.* [Phil. 3. 5.] But the *Prætors,* by their office, were properly *the Collegues of the Conſuls,* and their Deputies in abſence. [A. Gell. 13. 15.] Thus *Cicero,* in a letter written about this time to *Plancus,* ſays; *we carried your letters directly to* Cornutus, *the Prætor of the City*; *who becauſe the Conſuls were abſent, ſupplied the Conſular office, by the cuſtom of our anceſtors.* [Ep. Fam. 10. 12.]

[13] *Brutus,* who, as it is ſaid above, treated his priſoner *Antonius* with great civility, carried his indulgence of him ſo far, as to ſuffer him not onely to write to the Senate, but to aſſume the Title of *Proconſul* in his letter. Though his Proconſular power was at firſt illegally uſurped, and afterwards traiterouſly employed againſt the Republic. This greatly ſtartled and ſhocked all *Brutus*'s friends at *Rome,* ſo as to drive them to the hardy expedient, here mentioned, of diſclaiming his letters, as forged.

illæ quidem, ſed in Antonium admodum lenes: vehementer admiratus ſenatus: mihi autem non erat explicatum, quid agerem: falſas dicerem? quid ſi tu eas approbaſſes? confirmarem? non erat dignitatis tuæ: itaque ille dies ſilentio. Poſtridie autem, cùm ſermo increbuiſſet; Piluſque oculos vehementius hominum offendiſſet; natum omnino eſt principium à me. De PROCOS. ANTONIO multa. Sextius cauſæ non defuit. Poſt mecum: quanto ſuum filium, quanto meum in periculo futurum duceret, ſi contra procoſ. arma tuliſſent: noſti hominem: cauſæ non defuit. Dixerunt etiam alii. Labeo verò noſter, nec ſignum tuum in epiſtola, nec diem appoſitum, nec te ſcripſiſſe ad tuos, ut ſoleres: hoc cogere volebat, falſas litteras

letter was read, ſhort indeed, but extremely mild towards Antonius. *The Senate was greatly ſurprized at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—what if you ſhould own it? ſhould I admit it to be genuin? that was not for your honor* [14]. *I was ſilent therefore for that day. But the day following, when the affair had raiſed much talk, and* Pilus's *behaviour given public offence; I began the debate; ſpoke much on* PROCONSUL Antonius. Sextius *performed his part; and remonſtrated to me afterwards; in what danger he ſhould think his Son; in what mine; if they had really taken up arms againſt a* PROCONSUL. *You know the man: he did juſtice to the cauſe. Others alſo ſpoke: but our friend* Labeo *obſerved* [15], *that your ſeal was not put to the Letter; nor any date added; nor had you written about it, as you uſed to do, to your friends. By this he had a mind to prove, that the letter was forged; and*

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[14] For if *Antonius* had been a legal *Proconſul,* it muſt have been not onely diſhonorable, but criminal in *Brutus.* to act againſt him as an enemy, and detain him a priſoner.

[15] *Labeo* was one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar,* and *Brutus*'s Lieutenant in *Macedonia* ; where he fell in the battle of *Philippi :* upon the news of whoſe death, *Brutus* is ſaid to have expreſſed a particular concern, juſt before he put an end to his own life. Plutar. in Brut.

elſe ;

eſſe; &, ſi quæris, probabat. Nunc tuum eſt conſilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari, & eum putare fructum eſſe maximum: præclarè quidem; ſed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus, locus eſſe ſolet debetque clementiæ. Nunc quid agitur, Brute? templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium & perditorum ſpes; nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello; niſi utrùm ſimus, necne. Cui parcimus, aut quid agimus? His ergo conſulimus, quibus victoribus, veſtigium noſtrum nullum relinquetur? Nam quid intereſt inter Dolabellam, & quemvis Antoniorum trium? quorum ſicui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Hæc ut ita ſentiret ſenatus populuſque Romanus, etſi res ipſa cogebat, tamen maxima ex parte noſtro conſilio atque auctoritate perfectum eſt. Tu ſi hanc rationem non

in ſhort, convinced the Senate of it. It is now your part, Brutus, *to conſider the whole nature of the war. You are delighted, I perceive, with lenity; and take it to be of the greateſt uſe to us. This in general is laudable; but the proper place of clemency is, and ought to be, in caſes and ſeaſons different from the preſent. For what are we now doing,* Brutus? *we ſee a needy and deſperate crew, ready to fall upon the Temples of the Immortal Gods: and that the ſingle point, to be decided by this war, is, whether we are to live or not. Who is it then, that we are ſparing? or what are we aiming at? are we conſulting the ſafety of thoſe, who, if they happen to conquer, will not leave the leaſt remains of any of us? for what difference is there between* Dolabella *and any one of the* three Antony's [16]? *If we ſpare any of theſe, we have been too hard upon* Dolabella [17]. *It was owing chiefly to my advice and authority, that the Senate and people were brought into this way of thinking; though the thing itſelf indeed engaged them alſo to it. If you do not ap-*

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[16] *Marcus,* who was beſieging *D. Brutus* in *Modena*; *Lucius,* who was in his Brother's Camp; and *Caius,* now the priſoner of *M. Brutus.*

[17] Who was declared an enemy, for the murther of *Trebonius,* and his cruelties in *Aſia.* See Epiſt. 2d. Note 1, 11.

probas; tuam ſententiam defendam, non relinquam meam. Neque diſſolutum à te quidquam homines exſpectant, neque crudele: hujus rei moderatio facilis eſt; ut in duces vehemens ſis, in milites liberalis. Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quàm plurimùm tecum habeas. Virtutis diſciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quàm contemplationem atque imitationem tui. xvi. kalend. Maii.

prove this manner of proceding, I ſhall defend your opinion, yet cannot depart from my own. The world does not expect any thing from you, either remiſs, or cruel. It is eaſy to moderate the matter, by uſing ſeverity to the Leaders, generoſity to the Soldiers. As for my ſon, I deſire you, my Brutus, *to keep him with you, as much as poſſible. He will find no better ſchool of virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of you.* April. 16.

EPISTOLA VI.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

VEteris Antiſtii talis animus eſt in rempublicam, ut non dubitem, quin & in Cæſare & Antonio ſe præſtaturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatorem communis liber-

EPIST. VI.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

VEtus Antiſtius *is ſo well affected to the Republic* [1], *that I cannot doubt, but that, if a proper occaſion had offered, he would have ſhewn himſelf a moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor of our common liberty, both againſt* Cæſar *and*

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[1] This *Vetus,* who appears now to be ſo well affected to *Brutus,* had been *Proprætor of Syria* during *Cæſar*'s reign; and a little before his death, was beſieging *Apamea,* poſſeſſed by *Cæcilius Baſſus,* one of the *Pompeian* Commanders, who after his flight from *Pharſalia,* had gathered a body of troops, with which he maintained his ground in that Province, in oppoſition to *Cæſar*'s power; and when beſieged and reduced almoſt to extremity by *Vetus,* was delivered from the ſiege by *Pacorus,* Prince of *Parthia,* and *Alchandonius,* an Arabian Tetrarch. Ep. ad Att. 14. 9. Dio, l. 47. 343.

tatis, ſi occaſioni potuiſſet occurrere. Nam qui in Achaia congreſſus, P. Dolabella milites atque equites habente, quodvis adire periculum, ex inſidiis paratiſſimi ad omnia latronis, maluerit, quàm videri, aut coactus eſſe pecuniam dare, aut libenter dediſſe homini nequiſſimo atque improbiſſimo; is nobis ultro & pollicitus eſt, & dedit H-S xx. ex ſua pecunia: &, quod multo carius eſt, ſeipſum obtulit, & conjunxit. Huic perſuadere cœpimus, ut imperator in caſtris remaneret, remque publicam defenderet; ſtatuit eundum

Antony. *For he, who, in* Achaia, *in a congreſs with* Dolabella, *when ſurrounded with troops and horſe* [2], *choſe to expoſe himſelf to any danger, from the treachery of a robber, prepared for every thing deſperate, rather than ſeem, either through force or inclination, to have given any money to a moſt abandoned and profligate man* [3]; *yet he, I ſay, both voluntarily promiſed, and has actually given me* two millions of Seſterces, *out of his own money* [4]*: and what I value much more, has offered and joined himſelf to me. I have been endeavouring to perſuade him, that in virtue of his command, as General, he would continue with me in the Camp, and defend the Republic* [5]*: but ſince he had diſ-*

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[2] *Vetus*, as it appears from this letter, had not yet paſſed through the *Prætorſhip*, though he had commanded in *Syria* as *Proprætor:* but he had governed it either by an extraordinary commiſſion from *Cæſar*, or had been *Quæſtor* probably to the laſt Proconſul; upon whoſe death or departure, the Province fell of courſe into his hands. Thus *P. Lentulus*, Quæſtor to *Trebonius* in *Aſia*, took upon him the command of that Province, upon the death of his Proconſul, with the ſtile of *Proprætor*. Ep. Fam. 12. 15.

[3] *Dolabella's* buſineſs, in this progreſs, was to gather all the troops and money, that he could find in the Cities and Provinces, through which he paſſed, in order to make head againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in the Eaſtern part of the Empire. *Plutarch* has preſerved a Greek Epiſtle of *Brutus* on this ſubject, written in his *Laconic* ſtile to the *Pergamenians*. "*I hear, that you have given Dolabella money. If you gave it willingly,* "*you muſt own, that you have injured me: if unwillingly, ſhew it, by giving willingly to* "*me.*" Plut. in Brut.

[4] This is computed to amount to 16·44 *l.* of Engliſh money.

[5] As he had commanded an army in chief, ſo a General's commiſſion never expired, till he entered again within the walls of *Rome*.

ſibi, quoniam exercitum dimiſiſſet: ſtatim verò rediturum ad nos confirmavit, legatione ſuſcepta, niſi prætorum comitia habituri eſſent conſules. Nam illi ita ſentienti de republica magnopere auctor fui, ne differret tempus petitionis ſuæ; cujus factum omnibus gratum eſſe debet, qui modò judicant, hunc exercitum eſſe reipublicæ; tibi tanto gratius, quanto & majore animo gloriaque libertatem noſtram defendis, & dignitatem, ſi contigerit noſtris conſiliis exitus, quem optamus, perfructurus es. Ego etiam, mi Cicero, proprie familiariterque te rogo, ut Veterem ames, veliſque eſſe quàm ampliſſimum: qui etſi nulla re deterreri à propoſito poteſt, tamen excitari tuis laudibus indulgentiaque poterit, quo

miſſed his army, he reſolves to go to Rome; *yet has promiſed to return to me quickly in the quality of a Lieutenant; unleſs the Conſuls ſhould hold an aſſembly for the election of* Prætors [6]. *For in that caſe, I greatly encouraged him, who is ſo well diſpoſed to the Republic, not to poſtpone his ſuit to another year. What he has done therefore ought to be agreeable to all, who look upon my troops, as the army of the Republic; and ſo much the more to you, as you defend our liberty with greater courage and glory than any man, and if our endeavours be crowned with the ſucceſs, that we wiſh, are ſure to reap a greater encreaſe of dignity* [7]. *I beg of you alſo, my* Cicero, *in a peculiar and familiar manner, that you would love* Vetus, *and promote his advancement, as much as you are able; who, though he cannot by any motive be deterred from his preſent purpoſe, may yet be excited by your praiſes and kindneſs, to per-*

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[6] Where *Vetus* intended to appear as a Candidate for the Prætorſhip. This paſſage ſhews, that the letter was written before *Brutus* had received the news of the battel of *Modena,* and the death of the two Conſuls.

[7] I have followed here an emendation recommended by *Manutius* and *Lambinus,* and inſtead of *perfrunctūrus* in the common Editions, which no body underſtands, have given *perfructurus* or *perfuiturus:* which verb is uſed with an accuſative caſe, not onely by the older writers, as *Plautus,* but by *Lucretius* of *Cicero*'s own times.

omnia perfructus vitai præmia, l. 3. 969.

magis amplexetur ac tueatur judicium ſuum: & id mihi gratiſſimum erit.

EPISTOLA VII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

MUltos tibi commendavi, & commendem, neceſſe eſt: optimus enim quiſque vir & civis maximè ſequitur judicium tuum; tibique omnes fortes viri navare operam & ſtudium volunt: nec quiſquam eſt, quin ita exiſtimet, meam apud te & gratiam & auctoritatem valere plurimum. Sed C. Naſennium, municipem Sueſſanum, tibi ita commendo, ut neminem diligentiùs. Cretenſi bello, Metello imperatore, oc-

ſevere and ſupport his own judgement with the greater zeal: and by this you will very much oblige me.

EPIST. VII.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

I Have already recommended many, and muſt neceſſarily recommend many more to you. For every one, in proportion as he is the honeſter man, and better Citizen, declares himſelf the more freely on your ſide; and all men of courage are eager to exert their pains and zeal in your ſervice: nor is there any of them, who is not perſuaded, that my intereſt and authority are of the greateſt weight with you. But as to C. Naſennius, *of the Corporation of* Sueſſa [1], *I recommend him to you as warmly, as ever I did any man. In* the Cretan war, *he commanded the eighth century of the* Principes [2], *under* Metellus, *the*

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[1] *Sueſſa Pometia,* once a floriſhing City, and the Capital of the *Volſci.* There was another *Sueſſa,* called *Arunca*; a colony of *Rome* in *Campania.*

[2] There were three claſſes of Soldiers in every legion, ranked according to their different ages of ſervice: the firſt was of the *Haſtati*; the ſecond, of the *Principes*; and the third, of the *Triarii.* The two firſt claſſes were each divided into ten centuries or maniples: the firſt century of the *Haſtati* was called, *Primus Haſtatus*; the ſecond *Secundus Haſtatus*; and ſo on: the centuries of the *Principes,* were called likewiſe in the

tavum principem duxit: poſtea in re familiari occupatus fuit. Hoc tempore cùm reipublicæ partibus, tum tua excellenti dignitate commotus, vellet per te aliquid auctoritatis aſſumere. Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo; frugi hominem; &, ſi quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem. Pergratum mihi erit, ſi eum ita tractaris, ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere poſſit.

General [3]; *and has been employed ever ſince in the care of his private affairs. But at this time moved by the cauſe of the Republic, and the excellence of your dignity, he would be glad to obtain ſome command under you. I recommend therefore to you,* Brutus, *a brave and worthy man; and if that be any thing to the purpoſe, a rich one alſo* [4]. *I ſhall take it very kindly, if you treat him in ſuch a manner, as to give him reaſon to thank me, on the account of your favors to him.*

EPISTOLA VIII.

CICERO BRUTO, S,

QUUM hæc ſcribebam, res exiſtimabatur in extremum adducta diſcrimen: triſtes enim de Bru-

EPIST. VIII.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

WHILE I was writing this, our affairs were ſuppoſed to be reduced to the laſt extremity [1]. *For all our let-*

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the ſame manner, *Primus Princeps, Secundus Princeps,* &c. But the Body of *the Triarii* is generally thought to have been laid aſide by *C. Marius,* and out of uſe therefore at this time, or reſerved at leaſt to the defence of their camps. Vid. Car. d'Aquino Lexic. militar.

[3] In this *Cretan* war, which had been ended about 23 years, *the Romans,* as *Florus* declares, [l. 3. 7.] were the aggreſſors; and from no other motive, but *the deſire of conquering ſo noble an Iſland*; which after great cruelties exerciſed on the poor inhabitants, was finally reduced by *Metellus,* an old and able Commander; who obtained from it the ſurname of *Creticus.*

[4] See Epiſt. 1ſt. Not. [6].

[1] By the ſiege of *Modena,* where the ſcene of action now lay; and where *D. Brutus,* if not preſently relieved, muſt neceſſary have fallen into *Antony*'s hands.

to noſtro litteræ nuntiique adferebantur. Me quidem non maximè conturbabant: his enim exercitibus ducibuſque, quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere: neque aſſentiebar majori parti hominum: fidem enim conſulum non condemnabam, quæ ſuſpecta vehementer erat: deſiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem; qua ſi eſſent uſi, jampridem rempublicam recuperaſſemus. Non enim ignoras quanta momenta ſint in republica temporum; & quid interſit, idem illud utrùm antè, an poſt decernatur, ſuſcipiatur, agatur. Omnia, quæ ſeverè decreta ſunt hoc tumultu, ſi aut, quo die

ters and meſſages brought us ſad accounts of our Brutus [2]. *They did not however very much diſturb me. For I could not by any means diſtruſt the armies, and the leaders, who are now acting for us: nor was I of the ſame opinion with the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of the Conſuls, which was vehemently ſuſpected. I blamed their want of prudence and celerity in ſome caſes, where if they had exerted themſelves, we ſhould long ago have recovered the Republic* [3]. *For you are not ignorant, of what moment it is in public affairs, to ſeize the proper times of acting: and what a difference it makes, whether the ſame thing be decreed, undertaken, or tranſacted ſooner or later. If all the vigorous decrees, that have been made ſince the beginning of this diſturbance, had either been carried into effect on the day,*

dixi

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[2] He gives the ſame account alſo in a letter to *Caſſius*; the affair *of Modena*, ſays he, *is reduced to the laſt extremity*; *for Brutus was hardly able to hold it out any longer*. Ep. Fam. 12. 6.

[3] The Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, had been the creatures and miniſters of *Cæſar*'s power; greatly entruſted by him in all his affairs, in which they ſerved him with much fidelity. But after *Cæſar*'s death, they declared themſelves for the cauſe of liberty, and entered into *Cicero*'s meaſures; with whom they kept up a ſtrict correſpondence. But their long engagements with the *Cæſarian* party had left in them ſome prejudices, that gave a check to their Patriotiſm; and diſpoſed them, to act with more moderation towards their old friends, than the neceſſity of the times could allow; and to try the ſlow methods of negotiation, before they proceeded to the extremity of arms. It

was

dixi ſententiam, perfecta eſſent, & non in diem ex die dilata; aut quo ex tempore ſuſcepta ſunt ut agerentur, non tardata & procraſtinata; bellum jam nullum haberemus. Omnia, Brute, præſtiti reipublicæ, quæ præſtare debuit is, qui eſſet in eo, in quo ego ſum gradu, ſenatus populique judicio collocatus: nec illa modò, quæ nimirum ſola ab homine ſunt poſtulanda, fidem, vigilantiam, patriæ caritatem: ea ſunt enim, quæ nemo eſt qui non præſtare debeat. Ego autem ei, qui ſententiam dicat in principibus de republica, puto etiam prudentiam eſſe præſtandam: nec me, quum mihi tantum ſumpſerim, ut gubernacula reipublicæ prenderem, minùs putarim reprehendendum, ſi inutiliter aliquid ſenatui ſuaſerim, quàm ſi infideliter. Acta quæ ſint quæque agantur, ſcio perſcribi

when I propoſed them, and not put off from day to day; or if, from the time, when they began to be put in execution, they had not ſtill been delayed and poſtponed, we ſhould have ſeen an end of the war before now. I have acquitted myſelf, Brutus, *to the Republic in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by the judgement of the Senate and people, is placed in that rank of authority, in which I now am: and not merely in thoſe things, which alone are to be required from man; fidelity, vigilance, love of my country; for theſe are duties, from which no body ought to be excuſed; but I take it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the leaders in ſtate affairs, to enſure even the prudence of his meaſures to the public: and for my part, ſince I have aſſumed ſo much to myſelf, as to take the ſteerage of the republic into my hands, I ſhould not think myſelf leſs culpable, if I ſhould draw the Senate into any thing impertinently, than if I had drawn them into it treacherouſly. I know, that a punctual account is ſent you of all things, that are done or*

was in this reſpect, that *Cicero* found reaſon to blame their want of prudence and vigor on particular occaſions, but never to diſtruſt the integrity of their general views. See Life, vol. 2. p. 337, 430, &c. it. ſee Epiſt. 4th. Note [9]. Epiſt. 9. Note [12].

illud

te diligenter. Ex me autem illud eſt, quod te velim habere cognitum; meum quidem animum in aciem eſſe, neque reſpectum ullum quærere, niſi me utilitas civitatis fortè converterit. Majores autem partes animi te Caſſiumque reſpiciunt. Quamobrem ita te para, Brute, ut intelligas; aut ſi hoc tempore bene res geſta ſit, tibi meliorem rempublicam eſſe faciendam: aut, ſiquid offenſum ſit, per te eſſe eandem recuperandam.

going forward amongſt us. But what I would have you informed of particularly by me, is this; that my mind is wholly intent on the war; nor cares to attend to any other object; unleſs when the immediate ſervice of the City may have called it by accident to ſomething elſe[4]. *But the greateſt part of my attention is fixed upon you and* Caſſius. *Wherefore prepare yourſelf,* Brutus, *in ſuch a manner, as to be perſuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs be crowned with ſucceſs, it is you, who muſt ſet the Republic right; or if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you, who muſt recover it.*[5].

EPIST. IX.

M. T. C. M. BRUTO, S.

NOſtræ res meliore loco videbantur. Scripta enim ad te certo ſcio quæ geſta

EPIST. IX.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

OUR affairs ſeemed to have taken a more favourable turn [1]. *For an account, I know, is ſent you of all that has been done.*

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[4] *Cicero* had long foreſeen, what every day's experience confirmed to him, that their hopes of liberty depended intirely on the ſucceſs of their arms. So that all his meaſures and counſils were employed at this time in exhorting and engaging their Generals abroad, to unite themſelves in the glorious cauſe of preſerving their country, in this laſt ſtruggle for their common liberty. See Life, vol. 2. p. 403.

[5] This was always *Cicero*'s opinion, that whatever ſucceſs they had, or how faithfull ſoever their other Generals might prove, it was *Brutus* onely and *Caſſius*, who were truly diſpoſed to ſettle the republic again on it's right foundation.

[1] By the defeat of *Antony* before *Modena:* where a great part of his troops was beaten

ſunt. Quales tibi ſæpè ſcripſi conſules, tales exſtiterunt. Cæſaris verò pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facilè eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere poſſimus, quàm facilè adhuc tenuimus! Eſt omnino illud difficilius: ſed tamen non diffidimus. Perſuaſum eſt enim adoleſcenti, & maximè per me, ejus opera nos eſſe ſalvos: & certè, niſi is Antonium ab urbe avertiſſet, periiſſent omnia. Triduo verò, aut quatriduo ante hanc rem pulcherrimam, timore quodam perculſa civitas tota ad te ſe cum conjugibus &

done. The Conſuls anſwered to the character, which I often gave you of them in my letters [2]. *But young* Cæſar *has ſhewn a wonderfull diſpoſition to virtue. I wiſh, that I may be able to hold and govern him ſtill, in this heigth of honor and favor, as eaſily, as I have hitherto done. It is now indeed become more difficult; yet I do not deſpair of it* [3]. *For the young man is perſuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our ſafety to his vigor: and in truth, if he had not kept off* Antony *from the City, all had been loſt* [4]. *Nay, within three or four days before this moſt happy event, the City, ſtruck with a kind of panic, was all running away at once with their wives and*

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beaten by *Hirtius*, in a fierce engagement on the *15th of April:* [Ep. Fam. l. 10. 30.] and within a day or two after, his whole army utterly routed by *Hirtius* and *Octavius*; while *D. Brutus* alſo, by ſallying out of the Town, helped to complete the victory. *Cicero* omits to recite the particulars of theſe important actions, as knowing *Brutus* to be punctually informed of them from other hands.

[2] By ſhewing themſelves ſincere in the defence of the Republic, for which they had now ſacrificed their lives.

[3] The loſs of both the Conſuls, in the two battels at *Modena*, which could not be foreſeen or expected, deſtroyed at once the good effect of all *Cicero*'s meaſures. For the veteran legions, which had hitherto acted under their command, refuſing after their death to follow *D. Brutus*, choſe *Octavius* for their General: who by this acceſſion of power being placed above all controul, and made ſuperior to any other force, which was now in *Italy*, thought it of no farther uſe to his affairs, to keep any meaſures with the Rupublican party, and began therefore to drop all regard to *Cicero*'s counſils. *Cicero*, we ſee, was preſently aware of this unhappy turn; and though he did not at firſt deſpair of holding *Octavius*, yet he found freſh reaſon every day to diſtruſt him ſtill more and more. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 432.

[4] See Epiſt. 5. Note [4].

liberis effundebat: eadem recreata a. d. XII. kalend. Maias te huc venire, quàm ſe ad te ire malebat. Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum multarumque vigiliàrum fructum cepi maximum, ſi modò eſt aliquis fructus ex ſolida veraque gloria. Nam tantæ multitudinis, quantam capit urbs noſtra, concurſus eſt ad me factus: ea cùm uſque in Capitolium deductus, tum maximo clamore atque plauſu in roſtris collocatus ſum. Nihil eſt in me inane: neque

children to you [5]; *till, being made eaſy again on the* 20th of April [6], *they began to wiſh, that you would rather come hither to them, than they go to you* [7]. *On which day, I reaped the full fruit of all my great pains and conſtant watchings; if there be any fruit at all from true and ſolid glory. For the whole multitude, which our City contains, flocked on that day to my houſe; whence I was carried by them firſt to* the Capitol; *then placed in the* Roſtra, *with the loudeſt acclamations and applauſe* [8]. *There is nothing of vanity in me; nor in-*

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[5] The partiſans of *Antony* at *Rome* were perpetually alarming the City, during the ſiege of *Modena*, with falſe rumors, that *Antony* had taken the Town, and *D. Brutus* in it; and that the Conſuls had joined with him. It was ſome report of this kind, which had raiſed that general terror here mentioned, for three or four days before the news of *Antony*'s defeat. [Philip. 14. 6.] Thus *Cicero* alſo in a letter to *Caſſius*; *Brutus is hardly able to hold out any longer at Modena. If he be preſerved, we have conquered. If not, which the Gods avert, all people here will run away to you.* Ep. Fam. 12. 6.

[6] The day, on which the news of the firſt victory arrived at *Rome*, in five days from *Modena*: which ſeems to have been the uſual time for performing that journey, by an expeditious Courier. For *Cicero*, on another occaſion, mentions an expreſs received from *D. Brutus*, on the ſixth day from the ſame place. Ep. Fam. 11. 6.

[7] From the apprehenſions intimated above of the difficulty of governing *Octavius*, in his preſent heigth of power, *Cicero* begins here to drop the firſt hint, that *Brutus*'s army might poſſibly be wanted in *Italy*; of which much more will be ſaid in the following letters.

[8] That he might give them a diſtinct account of the particulars of the late victory. The *Roſtra* being the uſual place, whence the magiſtrates uſed to deliver, what they had to ſay to the people.

enim debet: ſed tamen omnium ordinum conſenſus, gratiarum actio, gratulatioque me commovet; propterea quòd popularem me eſſe in populi ſalute, præclarum eſt. Sed hæc te malo ab aliis audire: me velim de tuis rebus conſiliiſque facias diligentiſſimè certiorem: illudque conſideres, ne tua liberalitas diſſolutior videatur. Sic ſentit ſenatus, ſic populus Romanus; nullos umquam hoſtes digniores omni ſupplicio fuiſſe, quàm eos cives, qui hoc bello contra patriam arma ceperunt: quos quidem ego omnibus ſententiis ulciſcor & perſequor, omnibus bonis approbantibus. Tu quid de hac re ſentias, tui judicii eſt. Ego ſic ſentio; trium fratrum unam & eandem eſſe cauſam. Conſules duos, bonos quidem, ſed duntaxat bonos, amiſimus.

deed ought there to be: yet the conſent of all orders, their thanks, and gratulations really move me; ſince it is truly noble, to become popular by the preſervation of our people [9]. *But I would have you hear of theſe things rather from others. I deſire you, to ſend me a punctual account of all your affairs and deſigns; and to take care particularly, that your generoſity may not ſeem to be carried to a degree of remiſſneſs* [10]. *The Senate is of opinion, and the Roman people of the ſame, that no enemies were ever more worthy of the laſt puniſhment, than thoſe Citizens, who have taken up arms againſt their country in the preſent war. On whom indeed I am taking a proper revenge, and purſuing in all my votes, with the approbation of all honeſt men. It is your part to determine, what you ought to judge of this affair. My opinion of it is, that the caſe of the three* Antony's *is one and the ſame* [11]. *We have loſt two Conſuls; good ones, it is true; but*

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[9] The character of popularity generally implied ſomething factious and bad in it; as being commonly acquired by an ambitious and proſtitute adulation of the meaner people, for the ſake of ſome private intereſts, in oppoſition to the public good. *Cicero* therefore diſtinguiſhes here the true ſpecies of it; the onely one, that he affected; grounded on a real merit, and ſervices to his country.

[10] This refers to *Brutus*'s manner of treating his priſoner, *C. Antonius*, mentioned above. Epiſt. 2. Note [2]. Epiſt. 5. Note [13].

[11] See Epiſt. 5. Note [16].

Hirtius quidem in ipſa victoria occidit, cùm paucis diebus magno prœlio antè viciſſet. Nam Panſa fugerat, vulneribus acceptis quæ ferre non potuit. Reliquias hoſtium Brutus perſequitur, & Cæſar. Hoſtes autem omnes judicati, qui M. Antonii ſectam ſecuti ſunt: itaque id ſenatus conſultum plerique interpretantur, etiam ad tuos ſive captivos ſive dediticios pertinere. Equidem nihil diſſerui durius, cùm nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem; quòd ita ſtatueram, à te cognoſcere cauſam ejus ſena-

barely good [12.] Hirtius *fell in the very midſt of victory, after he had beaten the enemy a few days before in a great battel. For* Panſa *was forced to fly, being diſabled by the wounds, which he had received* [13]. Brutus *is now purſuing the remains of the enemy, and* Cæſar *alſo* [14]*: but all are adjudged to be enemies, who have eſpouſed the party of* M. Antony. *Moſt people therefore interpret that decree of the Senate, to extend alſo to your priſoners; whether taken in fight, or by ſurrender* [15]. *I moved indeed for nothing more ſevere, though I was ſpeaking upon* C. Antonius *by name; becauſe I had reſolved with myſelf, that the Senate ought to*

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[12] This alludes to their want of prudence and vigor on ſome occaſions, as is ſaid above. Epiſt. 4. Note [9]. Epiſt. 8. Note [3].

[13] In the firſt battel, *Panſa* received two deſperate wounds, and was carried off the field to *Bologna*; [Philip. 14. 9.] where he died, the night after the ſecond battel. In which *Hirtius* was alſo killed, after he had got poſſeſſion of *Antony*'s Camp. See Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 427.

[14] This was ſaid by conjecture onely; being what *Cicero* took for granted: but it was ſoon after underſtood, that *Octavius* refuſed to purſue *Antony*, and that *D. Brutus* was in no condition to do it, till it was too late, for want of Horſe, &c. Ep. Fam. 11. 13. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 437.

[15] This decree related principally to thoſe, who were in arms againſt the Republic in *Italy*, yet was interpreted to extend to all, who were acting in the ſame cauſe, in any other part of the Empire. By which *Cicero* meant to admoniſh *Brutus*, of the indecency of treating *C. Antonius* with ſo much tenderneſs, who was now adjudged to be an enemy. For though *Antonius*, as is here hinted, was ſaid to have ſurrendred himſelf; yet it was not, till his forces were utterly routed, and himſelf with the few that remained, encloſed in a moraſs, whence there was no poſſibility to eſcape. Plutar. Brut.

tum oportere. x. kalend. Maias.

EPISTOLA X.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

AD. v. kalendas Maias cùm de iis, qui hoſtes judicati ſunt, bello perſequendis, ſententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Caſſius perſequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cùm eſſem aſſenſus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu,

take their information of his caſe from you. April 22d [16].

EPIST. X.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

O*N the* 27th of April, *when we were debating on the means of proſecuting the war againſt thoſe, who are adjudged to be enemies,* Servilius *moved* [1], *that* Ventidius *alſo ſhould be included in that number* [2]; *and that* Caſſius *ſhould purſue* Dolabella: *to whom when I had aſſented, I made this farther motion*;

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[16] The firſt battle of *Modena* happened on the 15*th of April*, according to *Galba*'s account of it to *Cicero*; [Ep. Fam. 10. 30.] or on *the* 14*th*, according to *Ovid*; [Faſt. 4.] and the news of it reached *Rome* on *the* 20*th*: on which occaſion *Cicero* ſpoke his 14*th Philippic*, the day following; on *the* 21*ſt*: from which it appears, that they had not, at that time, heard any thing of the ſecond battel; and of the death of the two Conſuls: an account of which muſt neceſſarily have arrived to them, either on that very day, after the Senate was diſmiſſed, or on the next, before *Cicero* wrote this letter, in which he mentions the death of the Conſuls; if the preſent date of it be really the true one.

[1] *Servilius* appears from this account, to have changed his note, upon *Antony*'s late defeat at *Modena*, and to have affected a peculiar zeal for the Republican cuuſe.

[2] *Ventidius*, from the condition of a *Mule-driver*, as he is called by *Plancus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, [Ep. Fam. l. 10. 18.] advanced himſelf to the higheſt honors of the ſtate, both civil and military. He was the creature of *Antony*; to whoſe fortunes he had attached himſelf; and for whoſe ſervice he had been employed for ſome time paſt, in gathering ſoldiers up and down in *Italy*; with which he was marching to join *Antony* before *Modena*; but not being able to come up to him, before his defeat, he had ſince joined him, in his flight towards the Alps, with *three legions*; for which he was declared an enemy by the Senate. [Ep. Fam. 11. 13.] He ſeems to have been *Prætor* at this very time; but before the end of the year, was promoted to the Conſulate, upon the reſignation of *Cæſar Octavius*.

ſi arbitrarere utile, eque republica eſſe, perſequerere bello Dolabellam: ſi minus id commodo reipublicæ facere poſſes, ſive non exiſtimares è republica eſſe, ut in iiſdem locis exercitum contineres. Nihil honorificentius potuit facere ſenatus, quàm ut tuum eſſet judicium, quid maximè conducere reipublicæ tibi videretur. Equidem ſic ſentio, ſi manum habet, ſi caſtra, ſi ubi conſiſtat uſpiam Dolabella; ad fidem & ad dignitatem tuam pertinere eum perſequi. De Caſſii noſtri copiis nihil ſciebamus: neque enim ab ipſo ullæ litteræ, neque nuntiabatur quidquam, quod pro certo haberemus. Quantopere autem interſit opprimi Dollabelam, profectò intelli-

that you alſo, if you thought it of uſe, and benefit to the Republic, ſhould carry on the war againſt Dolabella; *but if you could not do it with convenience to the public affairs, or did not think it for the public ſervice, that you ſhould keep your army in the ſame quarters, where you now are. The Senate could not decree any thing more honorable to you, than, that it ſhould be left to you to determine, what was the moſt conducive to the ſervice of the Republic. My opinion of the matter is this; that if* Dolabella *have any troops; any camp; any place, where he can make a ſtand; it concerns your character and dignity, to purſue him. As to our* Caſſius's *forces, we knew nothing at all about them. For we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence, that we could depend upon as certain* [3]. *You are very ſenſible, of what importance it is, that* Dolabella *ſhould be deſtroyed: not onely, that he*

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[3] *Cicero* does not here mean, that they had heard nothing at all about *Caſſius*, ſince he left *Italy*; for *Brutus* and *Lentulus*, as we have ſeen above, had ſeverally ſent accounts to *Rome*, that he had got poſſeſſion of *Syria*, and of all the Legions in it; and *Caſſius* himſelf alſo had ſent the ſame news to *Cicero*, by a letter dated *March the 7th*. [Ep. Fam. 12. 11.] But from the time of his being at the head of an army, they had not heard of any motion or action that he had performed with it. Thus *Cicero* in a letter to *Caſſius*, dated two months after this to *Brutus*, ſays; *nothing has hitherto been heard of you, but endeavours onely*; *thoſe indeed are great and noble*; *but we long to hear of ſome action*. Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

gis; cùm ut ſceleris pœnas perſolvat; tum ne ſit, quò ſe latronum duces ex Mutinenſi fuga conferant. Atque hoc mihi jam antè placuiſſe, potes ex ſuperioribus meis litteris recordari: quanquam tum & fugæ portus erat in tuis caſtris, & ſubſidium ſalutis in tuo exercitu: quo magis nunc liberati (ut ſpero) periculis, in Dolabella opprimendo occupati eſſe debemus. Sed hæc cogitabis diligentiùs, ſtatues ſapienter. Facies nos, & quid conſtitueris, & quid agas, (ſi tibi videbitur) certiores. Ciceronem noſtrum in veſtrum collegium cooptari volo. Exiſtimo omnino abſentium rationem ſacerdotum comitiis poſſe haberi: nam etiam factum eſt antea. C. enim Ma-

may ſuffer the puniſhment due to his treaſon; but that the chiefs of the rebels may not have a place to reſort to, in their flight from Modena. *That this was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my former letters* [4]*: though at that time, our onely refuge was in your camp, and our hopes of ſafety in your army. Wherefore now, when we are delivered, as I hope, from all danger, we ought to be more intent on the ruin of* Dolabella [5]. *But this you will take into your ſerious conſideration; and determine upon it what is moſt prudent; and will make me acquainted, as far as you think proper, with what you reſolve to do, and what you are doing. I have a mind, that my* Cicero *ſhould be made a member of your College* [6]*: and take it for granted, that in the election of prieſts, the abſent are capable of being conſidered; ſince there are precedents for it. For* C. Marius *was made* Augur

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[4] This refers to ſome letters now loſt.

[5] *Cicero* was of this opinion before the battel of *Modena*, and continued ſo for ſome little time after; imagining, that they were freed by that victory from all farther danger in *Italy*. Yet he ſoon changed his mind, from an unexpected change in their affairs. For their apprehenſions from the Eaſt were preſently at an end by the deſtruction of *Dolabella*, but were renewed more ſtrongly than ever in the Weſt, by *Antony*'s union with *Lepidus*: from which æra, *Cicero* began to preſs *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in every letter, to come with their armies in all haſt into *Italy*.

[6] That is, of the *Pontifices*, or *minor Prieſts*, in which there were ſeveral vacancies at this time. See Lett. 12.

rius, cùm in Cappadocia eſſet, lege Domitia factus eſt augur: nec, quo minus id poſtea liceret, ulla lex ſanxit. Eſt etiam in lege Julia, quæ lex eſt de ſacerdotiis proxima, his verbis, QUI PETIT, CUJUSVE RATIO HABEBITUR: apertè indicat, poſſe rationem haberi, etiam non præſentis. Hac de re ſcripſi ad eum ut tuo judicio uteretur, ſicut in rebus omnibus. Tibi autem ſtatuendum eſt de Domitio, & de Catone noſtro. Sed quamvis liceat abſentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia ſunt præſentibus faciliora. Quòd ſi ſtatueris in Aſiam tibi eundum, nulla erit ad comitia noſtros arceſſendi facultas. Omnino Panſa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus: ſtatim enim collegam ſibi ſubrogaſſet: deinde ante prætoria ſacerdotum comitia fuiſſent. Nunc per auſpicia longam mo-

by the Domitian *law, while he was in* Cappadocia: *nor has there been any law ſince that time, which forbids it. In the* Julian *law likewiſe, which is the laſt, relating to the Prieſthoods, there are theſe words*; he, who ſues in perſon, or of whom a regard ſhall be had: *which plainly ſhews, that regard may be had to one, who is not preſent. I wrote to him, that he ſhould take your advice in this, as well as in all other affairs. But it is your buſineſs to determine, what* Domitius [7], *and our* Cato *are to do* [8]. *But though a regard may be had to the abſent, yet all things are eaſier to the preſent. If you have reſolved therefore to go into* Aſia [9], *there will be no poſſibility of calling our friends away to the election. If* Panſa *had lived, all theſe affairs, I imagined, would have been diſpatched much ſooner. For he would quickly have provided himſelf a Collegue*; *and then brought on the election of* Prieſts, *before that of the* Prætors. *But now it will be a tedious buſineſs, I ſee, on account of the* Auſpices. *For as*

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[7] *Domitius* was Nephew to *Porcia*, *Brutus*'s wife. See Lett. 12. Note [4].

[8] *Cicero*, as we may collect from ſome hints in his letters, [ad Att. 13. 6.] was left a guardian by *M. Cato* to his Sons, of whom young *Cato* here mentioned was one; Couſin-german; as well as brother-in-law to *Brutus*; who was killed afterwards fighting, and refuſing quarter in the battle of *Philippi*. Plut. in Brut.

[9] In the Purſuit of *Dolabella*.

ram video. Dum enim unus erit patricius magiſtratus, auſpicia ad patres redire non poſſunt: magna ſane perturbatio. Tu tota de re quid ſentias, velim me facias certiorem. III. nonas Maias. Vale.

long as there is one Patrician *Magiſtrate remaining, the Auſpices cannot return to the Fathers* [10]. *Our affairs in truth are in great diſorder. I deſire you, to let me know your ſentiments on the whole ſtate of the caſe. May the 5th. Adieu.*

EPISTOLA XI.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

QUanta ſim lætitia affectus, cognitis rebus Bruti noſtri & conſulum, facilius eſt tibi exiſtimare, quàm mihi ſcribere. Cum alia laudo, & gaudeo accidiſſe, tum quòd Bruti eruptio non ſolum ipſi

EPIST. XI.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

HOW *great a joy it gave me, to hear of the ſucceſs of our* Brutus, *and the Conſuls, it is eaſier for you to imagine, than me to expreſs. I am pleaſed and rejoice on ſeveral accounts, but particularly on this; that* Brutus's *ſally was not onely ſalutary to him-*

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[10] The right of taking *the Auſpices*, which was neceſſary in all the elections of the principal magiſtrates, and all other tranſactions of importance, was lodged in the Conſuls, and *the Patrician* magiſtrates. But when there happened to be no Conſul, or *Patrician* magiſtrate, as in ſome factious times, when the annual magiſtracies expired, before the new elections could be made; then *the Auſpices* fell into the hands, not of the Senate in general, but of the *Patrician Senators* onely, who choſe an *Interrex* out of their own body, to preſide in all affairs of the City, till the regular magiſtrates were again elected. The Conſuls therefore being dead, in whom *Cicero* confided, and the *Auſpices* not yet devolved to the *Patrician Senators*, whom *Cicero* might have influenced by his authority; the Prætor *Cornutus*, who was now the ſupreme and governing Magiſtrate, and does not ſeem to have been wholly at *Cicero*'s devotion, had it in his power, by the management of *the Auſpices*, to give no ſmall trouble in the election of *Prieſts*, as by the ſame power he had put off, for one day, the debate, mentioned Letter the 4th, on the affairs of *Plancus*. [See Ep. Fam. 10. 12, 16.] *Cicero* therefore, foreſeeing the difficulties, that might poſſibly ariſe in this election, where his ſon and the other young Noblemen in *Brutus*'s Camp were to be Candidates, got it poſtponed to the next year, by his great authority in the Senate, on account of the preſent confuſion of the public affairs, as we ſhall ſee in letter the 20th, Note [3].

ſalutaris fuit, ſed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Quòd ſcribis, *trium Antoniorum unam atque eandem cauſam eſſe*; *& quid ego ſentiam mei judicii eſſe:* ſtatuo nihil, niſi hoc: Senatus aut populi Romani judicium eſſe de iis civibus, qui pugnantes non interierint. At hoc ipſum, inquies, iniquè facis, qui hoſtilis animi in rempublicam homines, cives appelles. Immo juſtiſſime. Quod enim nondum ſenatus cenſuit, nec populus Romanus juſſit, id arroganter non præjudico, neque revoco ad arbitrium

ſelf, but of the greateſt ſervice towards completing the victory [1]. *As to what you write*; that the caſe of the three Antony's is one and the ſame, and that it is my part to determine, what I ought to judge of it [2] *: I lay down no other rule to myſelf, but this*; *that it is the right of the Senate and people of* Rome, *to paſs judgement on thoſe Citizens, who have been taken fighting againſt us. But I am to blame, you will ſay, for giving the title of Citizens to thoſe, who bear an hoſtile diſpoſition to the Republic. Yes, I do it with the greateſt juſtice. For where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people commanded any thing, there I neither arrogantly take upon*

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[1] *Brutus*, in ſignifying his joy for the victory, omits, we ſee, to mention the name of *Octavius*, or to give him any ſhare in it; and affects even to aſcribe the principal part to *D. Brutus*, who had utterly been loſt, if the Conſuls and *Octavius* had not conquered; and whoſe power of breaking out of the Town, was the effect rather, than the cauſe of their victory. Nor does he take any notice, or intimate the leaſt concern for the death of the Conſuls, whoſe intentions he had always ſuſpected: yet that unhappy and unexpected accident was the primary and moſt effectual cauſe not onely of his ruin, but of the final oppreſſion of the liberty of *Rome*.

[2] Theſe are *Cicero*'s words in Letter the 9th; to which *Brutus* now anſwers with ſome little reſentment, to ſee his treatment of *Antonius* condemned by *Cicero*. But the event ſhewed that *Cicero* judged right, and that *Brutus*'s lenity was wholly imprudent towards enemies, who had no other deſign than to overturn the Republic, and deſtroy all thoſe, who defended it. I have inſerted the copulative [*et*] into the Latin text, though not found in any of the Editions: ſince it ſeems neceſſary to connect the two branches of the ſentence; or the two diſtinct points, which *Cicero* had mentioned in his letter, and to which *Brutus* here gives a particular anſwer. As to the remaining part of the letter, in which *Brutus* reproves him for confering honors too profuſely on *Octavius*; the reader may ſee that whole caſe conſidered, and *Cicero* vindicated from any blame on that account; and in *the Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 429, 471, &c

meum. Illud quidem non muto; quod ei, quem me occidere res non coegit, neque crudeliter quidquam eripui, neque diſſolute quidquam remiſi, habuique in mea poteſtate quoad bellum fuit. Multo quidem honeſtius judico, magiſque quod concedere poſſit reſpublica, miſerorum fortunam non inſectari, quàm infinitè tribuere potentibus, quæ cupiditatem & arrogantiam incendere poſſint. Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortiſſime, mihique merito & meo nomine & reipublicæ cariſſime, nimis credere videris ſpei tuæ; ſtatimque, ut quiſque aliquid rectè fecerit, omnia dare ac permittere. Quaſi non liceat traduci ad mala conſilia corruptum largitionibus animum. Quæ tua eſt humanitas, æquo animo te moneri patieris, præſertim de communi ſalute: facies tamen quod tibi viſum fuerit: etiam ego, cùm me

myſelf to prejudge, nor to impoſe my will as a law. Nor have I changed my mind with regard to that perſon; from whom, when I was under no neceſſity of killing him, I neither took away any thing cruelly, nor remitted any thing idly, but kept him in my power, as long as the war continued [3]. *I take it to be much the more decent part, and what the Republic would more eaſily allow to us, not to perſecute the fortunes of the miſerable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerfull, which tend to inflame their ambition and arrogance. In reſpect to which,* Cicero, *thou beſt and braveſt of men, and of all, moſt juſtly dear to me, both upon my own and the public account, you ſeem to truſt too much to your hopes; and as ſoon as any one happens to have done what is right, immediately to grant and give up every thing to him. As if a mind corrupted by extravagant conceſſions, could not be drawn to abuſe them to ill purpoſes. Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill to be admoniſhed; eſpecially where the public ſafety is at ſtake. You will go on however to act, as you ſhall judge for the beſt; and ſo too will I, whenever*

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[3] By *Antony*'s defeat and flight out of *Italy*, *Brutus* ſeems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to diſmiſs his priſoner *Antonius*, or to ſend him to *Rome*, that his caſe might be determined by the Senate.

docueris. Nunc, Cicero, nunc hoc agendum eſt, ne fruſtra oppreſſum eſſe Antonium gaviſi ſimus; neu ſemper primi cujuſque mali excidendi [ratio,] cauſa ſit, ut aliud renaſcatur illo pejus. Nihil jam neque opinantibus aut patientibus nobis adverſi evenire poteſt, in quo non cùm omnium culpa, tum præcipue tua futura ſit: cujus tantam auctoritatem ſenatus ac populus Romanus non ſolum eſſe patitur, ſed etiam cupit, quanta maxima in libera civitate unius eſſe poteſt: quam tu non ſolum bene ſentiendo, ſed etiam prudenter, tueri debes. Prudentia porrò, quæ tibi ſupereſt, nulla abs te deſideratur, niſi modus in tribuendis honoribus. Alia omnia ſic adſunt; ut cum quolibet antiquorum comparari poſſint. Unum hoc, grato animo liberalique profectum, cautiorem ac moderatiorem liberalitatem deſiderat. Nihil enim ſenatus

you will inſtruct me. Now is the time, Cicero; *now the time for us to act ſo, that we may not rejoice in vain for* Antony's *ruin; nor, by our method of extirpating the firſt evil, give occaſion to another, ſtill worſe to ſprout up* [4]. *Nothing bad can now happen to us, either through our inadvertency or permiſſion, without ſome fault in us all; but eſpecially in you; whoſe authority the Senate and people of* Rome *not onely ſuffer, but deſire to ſee as great, as can poſſibly be allowed to any ſingle man in a free ſtate: which it is your buneſs to maintain, by recommending not onely honeſt, but prudent meaſures. Nor is any other prudence required from you for the time to come, but a moderation in confering honors. All other virtues are ſo eminent in you, that you may be compared with any of the antients. This one part, which flows from a gratefull and generous mind, requires a more cautious and temperate generoſity. For the Senate ought to grant no-*

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[4] The Syntax is here ſomewhat imperfect; nor do the MSS or Critics afford any help to amend it. The word *ratio,* or ſomething of the ſame import, ſeems to have been dropt by the tranſcribers, on account of the following word, *cauſa,* which they might fancy perhaps ſufficient to complete the ſenſe.

cuiquam dare debet, quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut præſidio ſit. Itaque timeo de conſulatu; ne Cæſar tuus altius ſe adſcendiſſe putet decretis tuis, quàm inde, ſi conſul factus ſit, adſcenſurum. Quòd ſi Antonius ab alio relictum regni inſtrumentum occaſionem regnandi habuit: quonam animo fore putas, ſi quis, auctore, non tyranno interfecto, ſed ipſo ſenatu, putet ſe imperia quælibet concupiſcere poſſe? Quare tum & felicitatem & providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere cœpero, Cæſarem honoribus quos acceperit extraordinariis fore contentum. Alienæ igitur, inquies, culpæ me reum facies?

thing to any man, that may either be an example, or a ſupport to the diſaffected. I am in pain therefore about the Conſulſhip: leſt this Cæſar *of yours ſhould think himſelf raiſed higher already by your decrees, than it would be, from his preſent heigth, to be advanced ſtill to a Conſul* [5]. *For if* Antony *took the enſigns of royalty, left to him by another, for an occaſion of making himſelf our King; in what diſpoſition, think you, will he be, who by the authority, not of the Tyrant, whom we have killed, but of the Senate itſelf, imagines himſelf encouraged to pretend to what power ſoever he pleaſes? Wherefore I ſhall then at laſt applaud your felicity and prudent foreſight; when I begin to know for certain, that* Cæſar *will be content with the extraordinary honors, which he has hitherto received. Will you make me anſwerable then, you will ſay, for another man's*

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[5] I have followed in this place an emendation of *P. Manutius*; of reading *adſcenſurum*, inſtead of *deſcenſurum*, which is found in the printed Editions. *Brutus*, on the account of the great power, of which *Octavius* was now poſſeſſed, by the unexpected death of the two Conſuls, was afraid, that he would aſpire even to the Conſulate; which, at his age, was an ambition ſo extravagant, as to be little leſs than the affectation of a Tyranny. His meaning therefore in this paſſage, is this; *I am afraid, leſt he ſhould aim at the Conſulſhip, and, after he has been raiſed ſo high by your decrees, ſhould think it an eaſy ſtep to mount from that heigth into the Conſulate, and the grant of it conſequently a leſs extraordinary favor, than what he has already received from you.* The common reading perplexes the ſentence, and gives a turn quite foreign to *Brutus*'s meaning.

Prorſus alienæ, ſi provideri potuit, ne exſiſteret: quod utinam inſpectare poſſis timorem de illo meum! His litteris ſcriptis, te conſulem factum audivimus: tum verò incipiam proponere mihi rempublicam juſtam & jam ſuis nitentem viribus, ſi iſthuc videro. Filius valet, & in Macedoniam cum equitatu præmiſſus eſt. Idibus Maiis, ex caſtris.

fault? Yes ſurely, as far as it might have been foreſeen, and prevented. I wiſh, that you could look into the fears, which I conceive in my breaſt about him. After I had written this letter, we heard, that you were made Conſul, If ever I ſee that day, I ſhall then begin to form to myſelf the true figure of a Republic, ſubſiſting again upon its own Strength. Your Son is in good health, and is ſent before me into Macedonia, *with the horſe.* May the 15th; *from my Camp.*

EPISTOLA XII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

L. Bibulus quàm carus mihi eſſe debeat, nemo melius judicare poteſt quàm tu, cujus tantæ pro republica contentiones ſollicitudineſque fuerunt. Itaque vel ipſius virtus vel noſtra neceſſitudo debet conciliare te illi: quo minus multa mihi ſcribenda eſſe arbi-

EPIST. XII.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

HOW *dear* L. Bibulus *ought to be to me* [1], *after ſo many ſtruggles and anxieties, which he has ſuſtained for the Republic, no man is better able to judge, than you. Wherefore either his own virtue, or our friendſhip ought ſufficiently to recommend him to you; ſo as to make it needleſs for me, I imagine, to employ many words.*

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[1] This *L. Bibulus* was the Son of *M. Bibulus, Cæſar*'s Collegue in his firſt Conſulſhip, by *Porcia, Cato*'s daughter, now wife to *Brutus*; who does not recommend him here, for the ſake of his near relation to him, but for his eminent zeal and ſervices to the Republic.

tror. Voluntas enim te movere debet noſtra, ſi modò juſta eſt, aut pro officio neceſſario ſuſcipitur. In Panſæ locum petere conſtituit: eam nominationem à te petimus: neque conjunctiori dare beneficium quàm nos tibi ſumus, neque digniorem nominare potes quàm Bibulum. De Domitio & Apuleio quid attinet me ſcribere, cùm ipſi per ſe tibi commendatiſſimi ſint; Apuleium verò tu tua auctoritate ſuſtinere debes. Sed Domitius in ſua epiſtola celebrabitur. Bibulum noli dimittere ex ſinu tuo tantum

For my deſire ſurely deſerves to have weight with you, provided it be juſt, or excited by a neceſſary duty. He reſolves to ſue for the Prieſthood, *in* Panſa's *place. We beg that nomination from you* [2]. *You cannot grant this favor to one, more ſtrictly united with you, than I am; nor name a perſon, more worthy of it than* Bibulus. *What occaſion have I to ſay any thing of* Domitius, *and* Apuleius; *who, on their own account, poſſeſs ſo great a ſhare of your eſteem? As for* Apuleius, *you ought to ſupport him with your authority* [3]. *But* Domitius's *pretenſions will be ſet forth in his own Epiſtle* [4]. *Do not fail however to admit* Bibulus

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[2] *The Prieſthoods of Rome* were uſually filled by perſons of the firſt dignity. [pr. Dom. 1.] The *Rex Sacrorum*; the three principal *Flamines*; and the *Salii*, were neceſſarily to be *Patricians*: the reſt were, one moiety *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. [pr. Dom. 14.] They were choſen for life, by a part onely of the Tribes, called for that purpoſe by lot, and upon the nomination of one or two of the *Prieſtly College*. [Philip. 2. 2. Agrar. 2. 7.] and were inaugurated into their office by one of the *Augurs*. [Phil. 2. 43.] It was a place in the College of *Pontifices*, or *minor Prieſts*, that *Bibulus* was now ſuing for—but the Prieſts in general had great prerogatives and influence in public affairs; eſpecially in caſes of religion, in which they were the ſole judges, which made theſe places eagerly ſought for by the nobility.

[3] There was one *P. Apuleius*, a Tribun of the people at this time, and one of *Cicero*'s warmeſt friends. [Phil. 6. 1. 14. 6.] There was *M. Apuleius* alſo, now with *Brutus* in *Macedonia*; and recommended to the Senate by *Cicero*, as greatly inſtrumental in bringing over the *Macedonian* army from *C. Antonius*; and this probably was the perſon here mentioned, as a Candidate for the Prieſthood. Phil. 10. 11.

[4] *Domitius* was of the firſt nobility, Grandſon to *Cato* by his mother, and the Son of that *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, nominated by the Senate for a ſucceſſor to *Cæſar*, in his government of *Gaul*; and who made the firſt ſtand againſt him at *Corfinium*, in the beginning of the civil war. The printed Editions at this place give us, [*ſed Apuleius*]

jam virum, ex quanto, crede mihi, poteſt evadere, qui veſtris paucorum reſpondeat laudibus.

into your confidence; who is already, take my word for it, ſo accompliſhed a man, that he bids fair to merit the honor of being ranked, amongſt the few of your claſs.

EPISTOLA XIII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

NOLI exſpectare dum tibi gratias agam: jampridem hoc ex noſtra neceſſitudine, quæ ad ſummam benevolentiam pervenit, ſublatum

EPIST. XIII.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

DO not expect now, that I ſhould pay you my thanks [1]*: thoſe ought long ago to be baniſhed from our friendſhip; which is arrived to the utmoſt de-*

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us] &c. but as *Brutus*, from the turn of the ſentence, ſeems to make a diſtinction here between the caſe of *Apuleius*, whom he had mentioned immediately before, and of *Domitius*; and as ſome MSS are ſaid to have, *Domitius*, inſtead of *Apuleius*; I have choſen that reading as the more probable.

[1] Theſe thanks were due for that decree, made in favor of *Brutus*, at *Cicero*'s motion, the *27th of April*; of which *Cicero* ſent him word, in Letter the 10th. *Plancus* begins a letter with the ſame turn, though expreſſed with more politeneſs. "I can-"not forbear thanking you for every particular inſtance of your favors to me. But "in truth, I do it with ſome ſhame. For ſo great an intimacy, as you have been "pleaſed to allow between you and me, does not ſeem to want the office of thanks. "Nor am I willing to diſcharge myſelf ſo cheaply, of my extraordinary obligations "to you, as by the poor return of words, &c." [Ep. Fam. 10. 24.] *D. Brutus* likewiſe begins a letter with a ſentiment of a ſimilar kind. "I now no longer give you "thanks. For ſince I can hardly ever requite you ſufficiently by my acts, it is not "poſſible for me to do it by words." [ib. 11. 13.] *Cicero* however would have been better pleaſed if *Brutus* had really thanked him, and might have anſwered probably as he did to *Plancus*. "Though I did not deſire any thanks from you, ſince I know, "both from experience and your own diſpoſition, that you are of all men the moſt "gratefull, yet (for I cannot help confeſſing it) they were very agreeable to me." [ib. 10. 19. Vid. Hen. Steph. Schediaſ. l. 3. 19.] for *Cicero*, as we ſhall ſee below, had obſerved a particular coldneſs in *Brutus*'s letters, with regard to his acts; as if he ſtudiouſly avoided to ſignify any approbation of them; and he had given *Brutus* perhaps ſome hint of it, which is here alluded to.

eſſe debet. Filius tuus à me abeſt: in Macedonia congrediemur: juſſus eſt enim Ambracia ducere equites per Theſſaliam, & ſcripſi ad eum ut mihi Heracleam occurreret. Cùm eum videro, quoniam nobis permittis, communiter conſtituemus de reditu ejus ad petitionem, aut ad commendationem honoris. Tibi Glycona, medicum Panſæ, qui ſororem Achilleos noſtri in matrimonio habet, diligentiſſimè commendo: audimus eum veniſſe in ſuſpicionem Torquato de morte Panſæ, cuſtodirique ut parricidam: nihil minus credendum eſt: quis enim majorem calamitatem morte Panſæ accepit? præterea eſt modeſtus homo & frugi; quem ne utilitas qui-

gree of affection. Your ſon is at a diſtance from me; but we ſhall meet again in Macedonia. *For he is ordered to lead the Horſe from* Ambracia, *through* Theſſaly; *and I have written to him to come to me at* Heraclea. *As ſoon as I ſee him, we will ſettle the matter together, ſince you leave it to us, about his return to proſecute his petition, or to recommend it to the next occaſion* [2]. *I recommend to you, in the moſt preſſing manner,* Panſa's *Phyſician,* Glyco; *whoſe wife is ſiſter to our* Achilles [3]. *We hear, that he is fallen under ſome ſuſpicion with* Torquatus [4], *about* Panſa's *death; and is kept in chains as a Parricide* [5]. *Nothing can be more incredible: for who has ſuffered a greater calamity by* Panſa's *death than he? beſides, he is a modeſt, worthy man, whom no motive even* dem videatur impulſura fuiſſe ad facinus. Rogo te, & quidem valde rogo (nam Achilleus noſter non minus, quàm æquum eſt, laborat) eripias eum ex cuſtodia, conſerveſque. Hoc ego ad meum officium privatarum rerum æquè atque ullam aliam rem pertinere arbitror. Cùm has ad te ſcriberem litteras, ab Satrio legato C. Trebonii reddita eſt mihi epiſtola à Tullio & Dejotaro, Dolabellam cæſum fugatumque eſſe. Græcam epiſtolam tibi miſi Cycherei cujuſdam, ad Satrium miſſam. Flavius noſter de controverſia, quam habet cum Dyrrachinis hereditariam, ſumpſit te judicem: rogo te, Cicero, & Flavius rogat, rem conficias: quin ei, qui Flavium fecit heredem, pecuniam debuerit civitas, non eſt dubium; neque Dyrrachini in-

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[2] *Brutus*'s meaning ſeems to be this, as it is explaned by *Manutius*; that young *Cicero*, by his return to *Rome*, might proſecute his ſuit for *the Prieſthood*, if, in the preſent confuſion of their affairs, the magiſtrates ſhould think fit to make an election; or if they poſtponed it, might recommend his intereſts in ſuch a manner, as to make it needleſs for him to return again on the ſame account.

[3] He was one of *Brutus*'s *Greek friends*; eminent probably for his learning and merit; and on that account well known to *Cicero*, as appears by the appellation of *our Achilles*: for *Brutus* conſtantly entertained in his houſe many Greeks of that character. Plut. in Brut.

[4] *Torquatus* was *Quæſtor* to the Conſul *Panſa*. Appian. Bell. Cic. l. 2. 571.

[5] *Glyco* was ſuſpected to have been bribed by *Octavius*, to poiſon *Panſa*'s wounds. Suet. Auguſt. c. 11. Tac. Ann. 1. 10. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 432.

of gain ſeems likely to have engaged in any villainous act. I beg of you, and beg it indeed very earneſtly, that you would releaſe him out of priſon, and preſerve him: for our Achilles, *as it is reaſonable to imagine, lays it not a little to heart. I take this to relate, as much as any thing whatever, to my duty, with reſpect to my private affairs. While I was writing this, a letter was delivered to me by* Satrius, *Lieutenant to* Trebonius, *from* Tullius *and* Deiotarus [6]; *ſignifying, that* Dolabella *was routed and put to flight. I have ſent you a Greek letter alſo of one* Cychereus, *written to* Satrius. *Our* Flavius [7] *has choſen you the Umpire in the diſpute, which he has with the people of* Dyrrhachium, *about an eſtate, that was left to him. I deſire it of you,* Cicero, *and* Flavius *does the ſame, that you would put an end to the affair. There is no doubt, but that the City owed money to the man, who made* Flavius *his heir; nor do the* Dyrra-

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[6] *Tullius Cimber* was one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, and now *Proprætor of Bithynia*. [Dio. l. 47. p. 345. Plut. in Brut.] *Deiotarus* was King of *Galatia*, a faithfull Ally of the Republic, and deprived by *Cæſar* of part of his dominions for his adherence to *Pompey*. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 215.

[7] *C. Flavius* was Commander of the artillery with *Brutus*, in *Macedonia*, and his intimate friend; upon the news of whoſe death, as well as of *Labeo*'s, in the battel of *Philippi*, *Brutus* is ſaid to have expreſſed a particular concern. Plutar.

ſitiantur: ſed ſibi donatum æs alienum à Cæſare dicunt. Noli pati à neceſſariis tuis neceſſario meo injuriam fieri. XVII. kalend. Jun. ex caſtris ad imam Candaviam.

chians *deny it*; *but plead, that all their debts were remitted to them by* Cæſar. *Do not ſuffer your friend* [8] *to do an act of injuſtice to my friend. May* 16*th, from my Camp in the lower* Candavia [9].

EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

Scripta & obſignata jam epiſtola, litteræ mihi redditæ ſunt à te, plenæ rerum novarum: maximeque mirabile, Dolabellam quinque cohortes miſiſſe in Cherroneſum. Adeone copiis abundat, ut is, qui ex Aſia fugere dicebatur, Europam appetere conetur? Quinque autem cohortibus quidnam ſe facturum arbitratus eſt, cum tu eo quinque legiones, optimum equitatum, maxima auxilia haberes? quas quidem cohortes ſpero jam tuas eſſe, quoniam

EPIST. XIV.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

After I had written and ſealed up my letter, I received one from you; full of ſtrange news. What ſurpriſed me the moſt in it, was; that Dolabella *had ſent five cohorts into the* Cherſoneſe [1]. *Does he abound then ſo much in troops, that he, who was ſaid to be flying out of* Aſia [2], *is in condition to make attempts upon* Europe? *But what can he think to do there with* five cohorts [3]; *where you have already five legions; with an excellent body of horſe, and a large number of auxiliaries? Yet ſince that Traitor has been ſo mad, I hope, that the*

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[8] The City of *Dyrrachium* had always been protected by *Cicero*, and was attached particularly to his intereſts. Ep. Fam. 14. 3. ad Att. 3. 22.

[9] A mountainous country dividing *Macedonia* from *Illyricum*.

[1] The Thracian Cherſoneſe upon the Helleſpont.

[2] See Epiſt. 4th.

[3] Five Cohorts made but half a Legion.

latro ille tam fuit demens. Tuum conſilium vehementer laudo, quòd non priùs exercitum Apollonia Dyrrachioque moviſti, quam de Antonii fuga audiſti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Itaque, quòd ſcribis, *poſtea ſtatuiſſe te ducere exercitum in Cherroneſum, nec pati, ſceleratiſſimo hoſti ludibrio eſſe imperium populi Romani*, facis ex tua dignitate, & è republica. Quòd ſcribis de ſeditione, quæ facta eſt in legione quarta, de C. Antonio, (in bonam partem accipies) magis mihi probatur militum ſeveritas, quàm tua. Te benevolentiam exercitus equitumque expertum vehementer gaudeo. De Dolabella, ut ſcribis,

five cohorts are by this time yours. I highly applaud your reſolution, of not removing your army from Apollonia *and* Dyrrachium, *before you had heard of* Antony's *flight*; Brutus's *eruption*; *and the victory of the Roman people* [4]. *As to what you write therefore, that you have ſince reſolved to lead your army into the* Cherſoneſe, *nor to ſuffer the Empire of* Rome *to be inſulted by a moſt wicked enemy*; *you do what is agreeable to your dignity, and to the public ſervice. As to the Sedition, which was made, as you write, in the* fourth legion, *about* C. Antonius; *you will take what I ſay in good part; I am better pleaſed with the ſeverity of the Soldiers, than with yours. I am extremely glad, that you have had ſuch a trial of the affection of your army, and of the horſe* [5]. *As*

ſi

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[4] *Brutus* had kept his army on the coaſt oppoſite to *Italy*, till he ſaw the event of things at *Modena*; that he might be in readineſs, to ſupport his friends at *Rome*, if occaſion had required. But upon *Antony*'s defeat and flight, he thought himſelf at liberty, to march away into *Macedonia*, and repreſs the inſults of *Dolabella*. This alſo was *Cicero*'s firſt advice, from an apprehenſion, that *Dolabela*, if not ſpeedily quelled, might grow dangerous to them in thoſe parts. But upon the unhappy turn of their affairs at home, by the death of the Conſuls, and the accounts received from abroad, that *Dolabella* was in no condition to give any trouble in the Eaſt, *Cicero* began to preſs *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in every letter, to bring their armies with all ſpeed into *Italy*, as the onely thing that could ſave the Republic.

[5] C. *Antonius*, by the benefit of *Brutus*'s indulgence to him, found means to tamper with his troops, ſo as to raiſe a Sedition amongſt them, from which he hoped to find an opportunity of putting himſelf again at their head. But *Brutus* by a timely diſcovery of the deſign, prevented the effects of it: and the Soldiers themſelves, being brought to

a ſenſe

ſi quid habes novi, facies me certiorem: in quo valde delector, me antè providiſſe, ut tuum judicium liberum eſſet cum Dolabella belli gerendi: & id valde pertinuit, ut ego tum intelligebam, ad rempublicam; ut nunc judico, ad dignitatem tuam, Quod ſcribis, *me maximo otio egiſſe ut inſectarer Antonios*, idque laudas: credo ita videri tibi: ſed illam diſtinctionem tuam nullo pacto probo. Scribis enim, *acrius prohibenda bella civilia eſſe, quam in ſuperatos iracundiam exercendam.* Vehementer à te, Brute, diſſentio; nec clementiæ tuæ concedo; ſed ſalutaris ſeveritas vincit in-

to Dolabella, *if you have any thing new concerning him, you will ſend me an account of it, as you promiſe: with relation to whom, I am much delighted, that I had taken care beforehand, that the proſecution of the war againſt him ſhould be left to your diſcretion* [6]. *For that, as I then imagined, was of importance to the Republic, and, as I now judge, to your honor. As to what you write, that I have managed ſo, as to be able to purſue the* Antony's *much at my eaſe; for which you commend me: I ſuppoſe you really think ſo: but I do not by any means approve your diſtinction, where you ſay;* that our zeal ſhould be employed rather, in preventing civil wars, than in exerting our revenge on the vanquiſhed [7]. *I differ widely from you*, Brutus; *not that I yield to you in point of clemency; but a ſalutary ſeverity is*

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a ſenſe of their raſhneſs, by *Brutus*'s prudent management, killed the authors of the diſturbance, and demanded the *Quæſtor* and *Lieutenants of Antonius*, to be delivered into their hands: but *Brutus*, on pretence of ordering them to be thrown into the ſea, ſent them to be kept ſafely on Ship-board; and leaving *Antonius* a priſoner ſtill in *Apollonia*, under the cuſtody of *C. Clodius*, marched away towards the *Cherſoneſe*, in purſuit of *Dolabella*. Dio. l. 47—340.

[6] This was decreed by the Senate, on the *27th of April*, upon *Cicero*'s motion, as he ſignifies to *Brutus*, in Letter 10th.

[7] This citation from one of *Brutus*'s letters now loſt, is ſomewhat ſimilar to what we find in letter 11th, where *Brutus* calls it *a more decent part, and what the Republic would more eaſily allow, not to perſecute the fortunes of the miſerable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerfull*, &c.

anem ſpeciem clementiæ. Quod ſi clementes eſſe volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia. Sed de hoc tu videris. De me poſſum idem quod Plautinus pater in Trinummo: *mihi quidem ætas acta ferme eſt: tua iſtuc refert maxime.* Opprimemini, (mihi crede,) Brute, niſi provideritis. Neque enim populum ſemper eundem habebitis, neque ſenatum, neque ſenati ducem. Hæc ex oraculo Apollinis Pythii edita tibi puta: nihil poteſt eſſe verius, XIV. kalend. Jun.

always preferable to a vain oſtentation of mercy. If we are fond of being mercifull, there will be no end of civil wars. But it is your buſineſs to look to that: for as to myſelf, I can ſay, what Plautus's *old man ſays, in the* Trinummus; life is almoſt over with me, it is you, who are the moſt intereſted in it [8]. *You will be undone*, Brutus, *believe me, if you do not take care: for you will not always have the people, nor the Senate, nor a leader of the Senate, the ſame as now. Take this as delivered to you from the* Pythian Oracle: *nothing can be more true. May* 18*th* [9].

EPISTOLA XV.

BRUTUS ATTICO, S.

SCribis mihi; *mirari Ciceronem, quòd nihil ſignificem umquam de ſuis actis.* Quoniam

EPIST. XV.

BRUTUS *to* ATTICUS.

YOU *write me word, that* Cicero *wonders, why I never take any notice of his acts*

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[8] He has expreſſed the ſame ſentiment, in one of his letters to *Atticus*; *mihi quidem* βεϐίωται; *viderint Juvenes.* [Ep. ad. 14. 21.] for he was now in his ſixty-fourth year.

[9] This letter, in the common Editions, is dated, xiv Kal. Maii, or 17th of April. But there are two paſſages in it, which ſhew that date to be falſe. Firſt, the mention of the ſecond battel *of Modena* and *Antony's flight*: the news of which did not reach Rome till the *22d of April.* [See Lett. 9. Note 16.] Secondly, the reference to a decree mentioned in Letter 10th, which was made in favor of *Brutus* at *Cicero*'s motion, on

efflagitas, coactu tuo ſcribam quæ ſentio. Omnia feciſſe Ciceronem optimo animo, ſcio: quid enim mihi exploratius eſſe poteſt, quàm illius animus in rempublicam? Sed quædam mihi videtur, (quid dicam?) imperitè, vir omnium prudentiſſimus; an ambitioſe feciſſe; qui valentiſſimum Antonium ſuſcipere pro republica non dubitarit inimicum? Neſcio quid ſcribam tibi, niſi unum; pueri & cupidiatem & licentiam potius eſſe irritatam, quam repreſſam à Cicerone: tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiæ, ut ſe maledictis non abſti-

[1]. *Since you require it then, and extort it from me, I will tell you, what I think of them. That* Cicero *has done every thing with the beſt intention, I certainly know. For what can I poſſibly be more aſſured of, than of his diſpoſition towards the Republic? yet ſome things he ſeems to have done; what ſhall I ſay? imprudently? of a man, of all others, the moſt prudent? or ambitiouſly? of one, who, for the ſake of the Republic, has not ſcrupled to declare war againſt all the power of* Antony? *I am at a loſs what to write; except this one thing; that the ambition and licentiouſneſs of the boy have been encouraged, rather than repreſſed by* Cicero [2]*: and that he carries his indulgence of him ſo far, as not to abſtain even from*

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on the 27*th of April*. As it is a common miſtake therefore of tranſcribers, to put *one month* inadvertently for *another* in the dates of letters, which we ſee frequently exemplified in the copies of *Cicero*'s letters, ſo I have taken the liberty to alter the month in this *date*, in order to make it correſpond with the facts above mentioned, and inſtead of *xiv Kal. Maii*, have put *xiv Kal. Jun. or* 18*th of May*, which will ſolve all the objections that are made to the letter itſelf. Vid. Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 217, &c.

[1] While *Cicero* was exerting all his pains and authority at *Rome*, to ſupport the tottering Republic, and making it his particular care, to ſtrengthen the hands of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he was ſurprized to ſee *Brutus* ſo reſerved in his letters on that head, and ſtudiouſly avoiding to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was ſomething in them, that diſpleaſed him. *Atticus* therefore, as a common friend, had been employed, we may imagine, to ſound him on this occaſion, and to learn the cauſe of his ſecret diſguſt: which produced this anſwer from *Brutus*.

[2] The general charge and the onely one indeed, which *Brutus* urges in this, as well as his other letters, againſt *Cicero*'s conduct, is, that he was the Author of throwing that power into *Octavius*'s hands, by which he was enabled at laſt to over-turn the Republic. But the reader may ſee the merit of this charge fully conſidered, and *Cicero* vindicated from it; *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 471.

neat; iis quidem quæ in ipſum dupliciter recidunt; quod & plures occidit uno, ſeque prius oportet fateatur ſicarium, quam objiciat Caſcæ quod objicit, & imitetur in Caſca Beſtiam. An quia non omnibus horis jactamus idus Martias, ſimiliter at-

opprobrious language[3]; *and ſuch, as reflects doubly upon himſelf: ſince he has taken away the life of more than one*[4]; *and muſt firſt confeſs himſelf to be an* aſſaſſin, *before he can reproach* Caſca, *with what he objects to him*; *and treat* Caſca, *as* Beſtia *once treated him*[5]. *Or becauſe we are not boaſting every moment of the* Ides of March,

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[3] This refers to ſome words, that had paſſed between *Cicero* and *Caſca*, one of the Conſpirators, who gave the firſt blow to *Cæſar*, yet was Tribun of the people at this very time, by virtue of *Cæſar*'s nomination. The paſſage ſeems to imply, that *Cicero* had reproached him for killing *Cæſar*, and called him an *Aſſaſſin*. But that is incredible; ſince *Cicero*, on all occaſions, as well in public ſpeeches, as private letters, never failed to extoll that act, as the moſt glorious that was ever executed: and with regard to this very *Caſca*, had refuſed to enter into any meaſures with *Octavius*, but upon the expreſs condition, that he would be a friend to the Conſpirators, and as a proof of it, would ſuffer *Caſca*, in conſequence of *Cæſar*'s nomination, to enter into quiet poſſeſſion of the Tribunate. [Ep. ad Att. 16. 13.] *Brutus* therefore, who was now in *Macedonia*, had either been miſinformed, or was charging *Cicero* with ſome conſequential meaning of his words, which was never intended by him. He had been admoniſhing *Caſca* poſſibly to carry himſelf with more moderation towards *Octavius*, leſt, by the advantage of his preſent power, he might take occaſion to treat him as an aſſaſſin, and put the laws in execution againſt him, as he did quickly after againſt all the Conſpirators; for ſuch an admonition would have been ſufficient with one of *Brutus*'s fierce ſpirit, to make him conſider it, as a direct condemnation of *Caſca*'s act. [See Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 487. Notes.] But if we reflect on the miſerable waſt, that has been made in theſe letters, of which there are but *twenty-three* now left, out of *eight* original books; and that there were *three books* likewiſe to *Octavius*; *three* more to *Panſa*, and *eight* to *Hirtius*; [Vid. Fragm. Ciceron. apud Andr. Patric.] all relating to the ſame times; and all now deſtroyed; it cannot be thought ſtrange, that ſome few facts ſhould be touched in theſe fragments, which cannot readily be accounted for; when we have loſt all the helps, that were the moſt likely to explane them; and which in all probability had actually explaned them.

[4] In *Catiline*'s plot; for which he put five of the principal Conſpirators to death; *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinius*, *Ceparius*.

[5] *L. Calpurnius Beſtia* was a Tribun of the people, at the expiration of *Cicero*'s Conſulſhip; ſuppoſed to have been deeply engaged in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy; and when *Cicero* laid down his office, joined with his Collegue, *Metellus*, in prohibiting him from ſpeaking to the people: and was ever after a perpetual enemy and reviler of his adminiſtration. Vid. Salluſt. c. 43. Plutar. in Cic.

que ille nonas Decembres ſuas in ore habet, eo meliore conditione Cicero pulcherrimum factum vituperabit, quàm Beſtia & Clodius reprehendere illius conſulatum ſoliti ſunt? Suſtinuiſſe mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noſter: quid hoc mihi prodeſt, ſi merces Antonii oppreſſi poſcitur in Antonii locum ſucceſſio; & ſi vindex illius mali auctor exſtitit alterius, fundamentum & radices habituri altiores, ſi patiamur? ut jam iſta, quæ facit, non dominationem; non; ſed dominum Antonium timentis ſint. Ego autem gratiam non habeo, ſi quis, dum ne irato ſerviat, rem ipſam non deprecatur: immo triumphus & ſtipendium decernitur; & omnibus decretis ornatur. Pudeat concupiſcere

as he is, *of* his Nones of December [6], *what better pretext can he have for cenſuring our moſt laudable act*, *than* Beſtia *and* Clodius [7] *had*, *for inveighing againſt his Conſulſhip?* *Our* Cicero *brags*, *that he*, *in his gown*, *has ſuſtained the war againſt* Antony. *But of what ſervice is that to me*, *if the ſucceſſion to* Antony*'s place be clamed as the reward of oppreſſing* Antony? *And if the avenger of that evil has been the author of another*, *which is likely to be more firmly grounded*, *and to take a deeper root*, *if we ſuffer it* [8]? *As if all*, *that he is doing*, *came from one*, *not afraid of a maſter*; *no*, *but of having* Antony *for that maſter*. *But for my part*, *I cannot think myſelf obliged to a man*, *who*, *as long as he does not ſerve an angry Lord*, *has no quarrel with ſervitude itſelf*; *nay decrees triumphs*, *and pay*, *and every kind of honor to him* [9]. *It is a ſhame for any*

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[6] *Cæſar* was killed on the *Ides, or 15th of March,* and *Catiline*'s accomplices put to death on the *Nones or 5th of December.*

[7] *P. Clodius, Cicero*'s inveterate enemy, who in his Tribunate procured a law, to baniſh him for putting thoſe Conſpirators to death.

[8] That is, if *Octavius,* for the merit of oppreſſing *Antony,* muſt be allowed to oppreſs the Republic in *Antony*'s place. Whoſe power was likely to be the more dangerous of the two, as having the pretext of being authoriſed by *Cicero* and the Senate.

[9] *Cicero* had decreed an *Ovation* to *Octavius,* which *Brutus* here aggravates into a Triumph: yet *Cicero,* in a ſubſequent letter aſſerts it, to have been one of his moſt pru-

fortunam, cujus nomen ſuſceperit. An conſularis hoc; an Ciceronis eſt? Quoniam mihi tacere non licuit, leges quæ tibi neceſſe eſt moleſta eſſe. Etenim ipſe ſentio, quanto cum dolore hæc ad te perſcripſerim; nec ignoro, quid ſentias in republica; & quam deſperatam quoque ſanari putes poſſe. Nec mehercule te, Attice, reprehendo. Ætas enim, mores, liberi, ſegnem efficiunt: quod

one, to deſire ſuch a condition of life, as he has now taken upon himſelf. Is this the part of a Conſular? this, of Cicero [10]? *Since you would not ſuffer me to be ſilent, you will read what muſt neceſſarily make you uneaſy: for I feel within myſelf, what an uneaſineſs it gives me to write it. Nor am I ignorant, what your ſentiments are with regard to the Republic; which, though deſperate, you think poſſible ſtill to be retrieved. Nor in truth,* Atticus, *do I blame you. For your years* [11]; *your principles* [12]; *your children make you averſe to action* [13]:

prudent acts. [Lett. 21. it. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 474.] He had decreed likewiſe, that all the pay and rewards, which had been promiſed to the Legions by *Octavius*, either in lands or money, ſhould be made good to them by public authority. Philip. 5. 1. 14. 3.

[10] This paſſage has been much tortured, and is variouſly read both in the MSS. and printed editions. I have followed the reading of *Manutius*, ſaid to be found in an old copy, which I take to be the moſt agreeable to *Brutus*'s ſtile.

[11] *Atticus* was at this time full *ſixty-ſix years old: P. Manutius* ſays, that he was *quinquagenarius*, or of the age of *fifty*, when he married his wife *Pilia*; [See Manut. Not. in Ep. ad Qu. Fra. l. 2. 3.] which led me into the miſtake of reckoning him *about a year younger* than *Cicero*, who was *fifty-one*, at the time of that marriage. [See Life of Cic. v. 1. p. 450.] Whereas in truth, *Atticus* was *three years*, and about three months older than *Cicero*, as we may collect, by comparing what *Corn. Nepos* ſays of his age, and death. Vit. Attic. c. 21.

[12] He was by principle an *Epicurean:* whoſe chief good conſiſted in the ſecure enjoyment of a pleaſurable life; undiſturbed by the cares, and management of public affairs. See his character, Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 580.

[13] *Atticus* had but one child; a daughter; of whom he was very fond: but the word, *children*, is oft applied in this general manner to the caſe of a ſingle child. *Cicero* rallies him, in one or two of his letters, upon his fondneſs for his little girl, as being a direct confutation of his *Epicurean* School; which held, that the love of our children was not implanted in us by nature, but derived onely from habit and faſhion. Ep. ad Att. 5. 19. 7. 20. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 302.

quidem etiam ex Flavio noſtro perſpexi. Sed redeo ad Ciceronem. Quid inter Salvidienum, & eum intereſt? Quid autem amplius ille decerneret? Timet, inquies, etiam nunc reliquias belli civilis. Quiſquam ergo ita timet profligatum, ut neque potentiam ejus, qui exercitum victorem habeat, neque temeritatem pueri putet extimeſcendam eſſe? An hoc ipſum ea re facit, quòd illi propter amplitudinem omnia jam ultroque deferenda putat? O magnam ſtultitiam timoris, id ipſum, quod verearis, ita ca-

which I perceived alſo from the account of our friend Flavius [14]. *But to return to* Cicero. *What difference is there between him and* Salvidienus [15]? *or what more would* Salvidienus *himſelf decree to* Octavius [16]? *He is afraid ſtill, you will ſay, of the remains of the civil war. But can any one be ſo afraid of a routed enemy, as to think, neither the power of one, who is at the head of a conquering army, nor the raſhneſs of a boy at all to be feared? Or does he do all this, becauſe he thinks, that every thing ought freely to be given up to him, on the account of his great power? Oh the ſtrange folly of fear! to be ſo cautious of ſhunning what we*

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[14] This is explaned by a ſtory, related by *Corn. Nepos*, that a ſcheme having been projected, for raiſing a fund of money for the ſupport of *Brutus* and his forces, by a voluntary contribution of the *Roman Knights*, *Flavius* propoſed the affair to *Atticus*, as *Brutus*'s particular friend, and one of the richeſt of that order, deſiring, that he would undertake the management, and put himſelf at the head of it. But *Atticus* anſwered, that *Brutus was welcom to make what uſe he pleaſed of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any perſon whatſoever, on any ſuch occaſion.* Vit. Attic. c. 8.

[15] *Salvidienus* was a Creature, and intimate favorite of *Octavius*; who, from the loweſt condition of life, was raiſed by him to the higheſt honors of the Republic; yet was afterwards put to death, for conſpiring perfidiouſly againſt him in favor of *M. Antony*, Suet. Aug. 66. Dio. 48. 376. Vell. Pat. 2. 76.

[16] When *Octavius* marched with his army againſt *Antony*, into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, the Senate, at *Cicero*'s motion, decreed to him the legal command of that army, as *Proprætor*; and that he ſhould carry on the war in conjunction with the two Conſuls, and ſhould have a Seat in the Senate, with the rank of a *Prætor*. After the firſt battel of *Modena*, they decreed to him likewiſe *a thankſgiving of fifty days*, with the title of *Imperator*, in common with the Conſuls; and after the ſecond battel, and the death of the Conſuls, they decreed to him an *Ovation*. Phil. 3. 2. 5, &c. 14. 10.

vere, ut, cùm vitare fortaſſe potueris, ultro arceſſas, & attrahas! Nimiùm timemus mortem, & exſilium, & paupertatem: hæc videntur Ciceroni ultima eſſe in malis: &, dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur, ac laudetur; ſervitutem, honorificam modò, non aſpernatur: ſi quidquam in extrema ac miſerrima contumelia poteſt honorificum eſſe. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem; referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat; tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus eſſe contraria. Quid enim tam alienum ab humanis ſenſibus eſt, quàm eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero ſit? Atqui eo tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut ſit illi Octavius propitius. Ego vero jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus ſcio Ciceronem inſtructiſſimum eſſe. Quid enim illi proſunt, quæ pro libertate patriæ, de dignitate; quæ de morte, exſilio, paupertate ſcri-

are afraid of, that inſtead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we forwardly invite and draw it upon ourſelves. We have too great a dread of death, and of exil, and of poverty. Theſe Cicero *looks upon, as the chief ills of life; and as long as he can find people, who will grant him what he deſires; who will reſpect, and applaud him; he has no objection to ſlavery, provided it be an honorable one; if any thing can be honorable, in a ſtate of the moſt wretched and abject contumely. Let* Octavius *then call him* Father; *refer all things to him, praiſe, thank him: yet it will be ſeen at laſt, that his words are contrary to his acts. For what is ſo oppoſite to the common ſenſe of mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a* Father, *who cannot be ranked in the number even of freemen? And yet all that this excellent man is aiming at; all that he is doing, tends onely to this, that* Octavius *may be kind to him. I can no longer ſet any value on thoſe arts, of which I know* Cicero *to be ſo great a maſter: for of what uſe to him are all the fine things, that he has written with ſuch eloquence, for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exil, poverty? How*

pſit copioſiſſimè? Quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus; qui privigno minus tribuerit, quàm Cicero alieno tribuat? Deſinat igitur gloriando etiam inſectari dolores noſtros. Quid enim noſtra, victum eſſe Antonium; ſi victus eſt, ut alii vacaret, quod ille obtinuit? tametſi tuæ litteræ dubia etiam nunc ſignificant. Vivat hercule Cicero, qui poteſt, ſupplex & obnoxius; ſi neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum geſtarum pudet. Ego certe, quin cum ipſa re bellum geram; hoc eſt, cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis, & dominatione, & potentia, quæ ſupra leges ſe eſſe velit: nulla erit tam bona conditio ſerviendi, qua deterrear: quam-

much better does Philippus *ſeem to underſtand thoſe ſubjects, who was more reſerved in his conceſſions to a ſon-in-law, than* Cicero *to a ſtranger* [17]*? Let him forbear then in his boaſtings to inſult even our miſeries. For what is it to us, that* Antony *is vanquiſhed, if his fall has made room onely for another, to poſſeſs his place? Though your letters even ſtill ſpeak dubiouſly of him* [18]. *Let* Cicero *then live on, ſince he can ſubmit to it, ſuppliant and obnoxious; if he has no regard, either to his years, or his honors, or the acts of his paſt life. As for me, I will wage war with the thing itſelf; that is, with Tyranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and with every power, that ſeeks to advance itſelf above the laws: nor ſhall any condition of ſervitude, how advantageous ſoever, divert me from it; though*

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[17] *L. Marcius Philippus* was Conſul, A. U. 697, and had married *Octavius*'s mother, *Atia*, in her widowhood, with whom he now lived. But *Brutus* does not ſeem to have been exactly informed of the tranſactions at *Rome*, by charging *Cicero* with a greater forwardneſs in decreeing honors to *Octavius*, than even his Father-in-law approved, ſince, as we ſhall find from a following letter, beſides the honors, mentioned above, which *Cicero* decreed, *Philippus* decreed the additional honor of a *Statue in the Roſtra*.

[18] *Atticus* had given an intimation in his letter, that *Antony* had recovered ſome conſiderable ſtrength ſince his flight from *Modena*, and that his affairs did not ſeem ſo deſperate, as they were commonly imagined. This was occaſioned, as it is obſerved above, by *Octavius*'s refuſal to purſue him after his defeat, which gave him an opportunity of gathering up his ſcattered troops, and joining with *Ventidius*. But the dubious ſtate of his affairs, which *Atticus* had ſuggeſted, ſhews, that *Atticus*'s letter was written before *Antony*'s union with *Lepidus*, which happened on *May 29th*: and this anſwer therefore from *Brutus* might be written probably about the middle of *June*.

quamvis ſit vir bonus, ut ſcribis, Antonius: quod ego numquam exiſtimavi. Sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores noſtri voluerunt eſſe. Te niſi tantum amarem, quantum Ciceroni perſuaſum eſt, diligi ſe ab Octavio, hæc ad te non ſcripſiſſem. Dolet mihi, quod tu nunc ſtomacharis, amantiſſimus tum tuorum omnium, tum Ciceronis: ſed perſuade tibi, de voluntate propria mea nihil eſſe remiſſum, de judicio largiter. Neque enim impetrari poteſt, quin, quale quidque videatur ei, talem quiſque de illo opinionem

Antony, *as you write, be an honeſt man*; *which was never my opinion of him* [19]. *But as to a Maſter, our Anceſtors would never endure one, though it were even a Parent* [20]. *If I did not love you, as much, as* Cicero *perſuades himſelf, that he is beloved by* Octavius, *I would not have written this to you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you are now diſguſted*; *you, who love all your friends ſo warmly, and above all,* Cicero. *But aſſure yourſelf, that I have abated nothing of my particular affection, though a great deal of my judgement of him. For it cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe, but that every man's opinion of things muſt be agreeable to the light, in which they appear to him. I wiſh*

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[19] Mr. *Tunſtall*, upon the ſtrength of his hypotheſis and the authority of *Plutarch*, thinks the true reading in this place ought to have been *Octavius*, inſtead of *Antonius*. [*Vulg. malè Antonius.* Vid. Tunſt. Epiſt. p. 194. Not.] But this emendation is not onely contradictory to all the Copies, both MSS, and printed, but to the ſenſe of the paſſage and to hiſtory itſelf. *Atticus*, to whoſe letter *Brutus* is here anſwering, had a particular friendſhip with *Antony*, and at the very time of this letter, when *Antony*'s affairs were thought quite deſperate, and when it was unpopular and invidious, to profeſs the leaſt regard for him, is celebrated by the Ancients, for acting a moſt generous part, and performing all manner of good offices to his wife and children at *Rome*. In this diſpoſition therefore, when he was touched with a particular compaſſion for *Antony*'s deplored condition, it was natural to mention him with ſome tenderneſs in his letter to *Brutus*: but as to *Octavius*, it does not appear, that *Atticus* had any perſonal acquaintance or commerce with him, till many years after: when he was indebted even for that, to the favor and recommendation of *Antony*. See *Atticus*'s character. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 564. 580. &c.

[20] This doctrine is taught by *Cicero* alſo, in his book of Offices, as a duty of perpetual obligation; *that where a Parent perſiſts in ſubverting the liberties of his country, we ought to reſcue our country, though at the expence of that Parent's life.* Off. l. 3. 23.

habeat. Vellem mihi ſcripſiſſes, quæ conditiones eſſent Atticæ noſtræ: potuiſſem aliquid tibi de meo ſenſu perſcribere. Valitudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ eſſe non miror. Denique quod petis, faciam libenter: nam etiam ſorores me rogant; & hominem noro, & quid ſibi voluerit.

you had ſent me word, what are the conditions offered to our Attica. *I might then have given you my ſentiments upon them* [21]. *I do not wonder at the concern, which you expreſs for my* Porcia*'s health* [22]. *To conclude, what you deſire of me, I will do with pleaſure: for my Siſters alſo make the ſame requeſt* [23]; *and I know the man, and what it is, that he would have.*

EPISTOLA XVI.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

FUngerer officio, quo tu functus es in meo luctu, teque per litteras conſolarer, niſi ſcirem, his remediis, quibus meum dolorem tu levaſſes, te in tuo non egere: ac velim

EPIST. XVI.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

I *Should perform the ſame office, which you performed in my loſs, of comforting you by letter, did I not know, that you cannot want thoſe remedies in your grief* [1], *with which you relieved*

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[21] *P. Manutius* ſuppoſes, that a propoſal of marriage had been made to *Atticus* for his daughter *Attica,* which he had ſignified to *Brutus.* But as *Attica* could not be above *eleven years old* at this time, ſo, if this hint relates to any propoſal of that ſort, it could mean nothing more, than that ſome party had been offered, in order to take effect, when ſhe ſhould be thought ripe for the married ſtate.

[22] This implies, that *Porcia* was now indiſpoſed, or lay ſick, of which more will be ſaid in the 16th Letter.

[23] His Siſters, as it is ſaid, were the wife of *Lepidus,* and the wife of *Caſſius,* both now at *Rome.*

[1] This letter of condolence relates evidently to the death of ſome perſon intimately dear to *Brutus,* and whoſe loſs affected him with the utmoſt tenderneſs. I have taken occaſion elſewhere to apply it to the death of his wife *Porcia*; [Life of Cic. v.

2. p.

facilius, quàm tunc ego mihi, nunc tibi tute medeare. Eſt enim alienum tanto viro, ut es tu, quod alteri præceperit, id ipſum facere non poſſe. Me quidem cùm rationes, quas collegeras, tum auctoritas tua à nimio mœrore deterruit. Cum enim mollius tibi ferre viderer quàm deceret virum, præſertim eum qui alios conſolari ſoleret; accuſaſti me per litteras gravioribus verbis quàm tua conſuetudo ferebat. Itaque judicium tuum magni æſtimans, idque veritus, me ipſe collegi :

mine[2]. *I wiſh onely, that you may cure yourſelf now more eaſily, than at that time I cured myſelf; for it would be ſtrange in ſo great a man as you, not to be able to practiſe, what he had preſcribed to another. As for me, not onely the reaſons, which you then collected, but your very authority deterred me, from indulging my ſorrow to exceſs. For when you imagined me, to bear my affliction with more ſoftneſs, than became a man; eſpecially one, who uſed to comfort others; you chid me by letter, in ſtronger terms, than it was your cuſtom to make uſe of. Out of my great regard therefore, and reverence for your judgement, I recollected my-*

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2. p. 441.] and have given my reaſons for an interpretation, which contradicts the common tradition of Antiquity. We have obſerved an intimation given, in letter 15th, Note 22. of *Porcia*'s ſickneſs : and *Plutarch* ſays, that there was a letter of *Brutus*'s extant in his days, if it was genuin, in which he laments her death, and complains of his friends, for neglecting her in her laſt illneſs. [in Brut.] *Cicero*, we ſee, avoids to name the perſon deceaſed, which, in the caſe of *Porcia*, would be the natural effect of good manners, and a proper reſpect to *Brutus*'s tenderneſs. It could not be his mother, for ſhe ſurvived her Son ſeveral years : [Corn. Nep. Vit. Att. c. 11.] nor has any probable conjecture been ever offered with regard to any body elſe. *P. Manutius* declares himſelf wholly at a loſs, after the moſt diligent attention, to gueſs at the ſubject of it. He obſerves, that there are ſeveral ſtrokes in it, which eminently deſcribe the ſingular greatneſs of *Brutus*'s loſs, and which would turn his thoughts towards *Porcia*, were there not ſome internal marks in the letter itſelf, that confute ſuch an interpretation. Theſe marks will be conſidered, when we come to the paſſages, that are ſuppoſed to contain them; where as I ſhall ſhew *Manutius* to be miſtaken, ſo I ſhall confirm my Hypotheſis of *Porcia*'s death.

[2] Upon the death of his daughter *Tullia :* on which occaſion *Brutus* ſent him a letter of condolence, written, as he ſays of it, *in ſuch a friendly and prudent manner, that while it drew many tears from him, yet it gave him great conſolation.* Ep. ad. Att. 12. 13.

& ea, quæ didiceram, legeram, acceperam, graviora duxi, tua auctoritate addita. Ac mihi tum, Brute, officio ſolùm erat & naturæ, tibi nunc populo & ſcenæ (ut dicitur) ſerviendum eſt. Nam cùm in te non ſolum exercitus tui, ſed omnium civium ac penè gentium conjecti oculi ſint, minimè decet, propter quem fortiores cæteri ſumus, eum ipſum animo debilitatum videri. Quam ob rem accepiſti tu quidem dolorem (id enim amiſiſti cui ſimile in terris nihil fuit) & eſt dolendum in tam gravi vul-

ſelf; *and by the acceſſion of your authority, took every thing that I had learnt, or read, or heard upon that ſubject to have the greater weight: Yet my part,* Brutus, *at that time was onely to act agreeably to duty and to nature: but yours is to be acted, as we ſay, upon the ſtage, and before the people. For when the eyes, not onely of your army, but of all the Citizens, nay of all nations are upon you; it is wholly indecent for you, by whom we other mortals are made the ſtouter, to betray any dejection or want of courage* [3]. *You have ſuffered indeed a great loſs,* (*for you have loſt that, which has not left it's fellow on earth*) [4], *and muſt be allowed to grieve under*

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[3] This was a very proper topic to be urged to *Brutus* in his preſent circumſtances; that he was at the head of an army, on which the fate of *Rome* depended; and that a truſt of ſo great importance ought to engroſs the whole man, and abſorb all other cares of a private nature. But he had already ſhewn, as *Plutarch* tells us, how well he could ſupport his character on ſo trying an occaſion. For in the morning, when *Cæſar* was killed, after he had left his houſe in order to execute that act, *Porcia*, whom he made privy to it, being unable to bear the anxiety and agitations, which the expectation of that event gave her, fainted away in ſuch a manner, that ſhe was imagined by all to be dead: and the news of her death was accordingly ſent to *Brutus*; who though extremely troubled, yet was not ſo oppreſſed by his private grief, as to neglect the public affair, in which he was engaged. Plut. in Brut.

[4] *I cannot yet gueſs,* ſays *Manutius, to whom theſe words can be applied, ſince they cannot relate either to Porcia, or to his mother.* [Vid. Not. Manut.] *Franciſcus Robortellus* declares them to allude to the death of *P. Servilius Iſauricus,* a perſon of great dignity; who died about this time at *Rome* in an extreme old age; [Dio. l. 45. p. 277.] and to whom he ſuppoſes *Brutus* to have been nearly related by his mother *Servilia.* But the greatneſs of *Brutus*'s affliction, intimated in the letter, ſhews it to be applicable to ſome body,

nere, (ne id ipſum, carere omni ſenſu doloris, ſit miſerius quàm dolere) ſed, ut modicè, cæteris utile eſt, tibi neceſſe eſt. Scriberem plura, niſi ad te hæc ipſa nimis multa eſſent. Nos te tuumque exercitum exſpectamus: ſine quo, ut reliqua ex ſententia ſuccedant, vix ſatis

ſo cruel a blow; leſt to want all ſenſe of grief, ſhould be found more wretched than grief itſelf [5]*: but to grieve with moderation, as it is uſefull to every body, ſo it is neceſſary to you. I ſhould write more, if this was not already too much to one of your character. We expect you, and your army: without which, though all other things ſuccede to our wiſhes* [6], *we ſhall hardly ever be free. I*

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body, more intimately dear to him, than a decrepit old Senator; who, how eminent ſoever, had long ceaſed to make any figure, or to bear any part in the public affairs; and whoſe ſon, having been *Collegue* with *J. Cæſar* in the conſulſhip, appears to have been an oppoſer, rather than a favorer of *Brutus*. [Ep. Fam. 10. 12. ad Brut. Ep. 3.] *Robortellus* however, upon the merit of this groundleſs conjecture, inſults *Manutius*, for confeſſing his ignorance, in a queſtion ſo obvious; and for thinking it poſſible, that the death of *Porcia*, or of any little woman, could affect *Brutus* ſo tenderly. Robor. Emendation. l. 2. c. 18.

[5] For not to grieve at all, as he expreſſes himſelf elſewhere, *would ſhew a mind void of humanity, and a body void of feeling*, Tuſc. qu. 3.

[6] *Manutius* contends, that the doubt, which *Cicero* here intimates, concerning the ſucceſs of their arms, ſhews, that it was written before *Antony*'s defeat at *Modena*, whereas in the 15th letter, which was written after that defeat, mention is made of *Porcia*, as then living. But if theſe words do not imply what *Manutius* imagines, but on the contrary, prove the letter to have been written not onely after *Antony*'s defeat, but after his union alſo with *Lepidus*, then his objection vaniſhes of courſe. As to the doubt then, here ſignified, about their ſucceſs, it muſt be remembered, that though preſently after the victory at *Modena*, *Cicero* thought their danger over, yet he ſoon had reaſon to change his mind, and eſpecially after *Antony*'s union with *Lepidus*, clearly ſaw, what he expreſſes with great ſollicitude in all his letters, that the fortune of the Republic was become again wholly uncertain. But the other part of the ſentence, where he ſignifies his expectation of ſeeing *Brutus* and his army in *Italy*, ſeems to demonſtrate, that the letter was written after *Antony*'s union with *Lepidus*; for it was after that event onely, that *Cicero* began to preſs *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, to bring their armies into *Italy*; as the reader will obſerve through the courſe of theſe letters; as well as in ſeveral others written to *Caſſius*: in one of which, *when we had imagined the war to be over*, ſays he, *we are brought again into the utmoſt danger, by your friend Lepidus:* [Ep. Fam. 12. 9.] and in another; *the war*, ſays he, *while I am writing this, is become a dangerous*

liberi videmur fore. De tota republica plura ſcribam, & fortaſſe jam certiora his litteris, quas Veteri noſtro cogitabam dare.

ſhall write more largely on the whole ſtate of the Republic; *and perhaps with more certainty, in the letters, which I am thinking to ſend by our* Vetus [7].

EPISTOLA XVII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

ETSI daturus eram Meſſalæ Corvino continuò litteras, tamen Veterem noſtrum ad te ſine litteris meis venire nolui. Maximo in diſ-

EPIST. XVII.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

THough I was juſt going to write by Meſſala Corvinus [1], *yet I would not let our* Vetus *come to you without a letter* [2]. *The Republic*, Brutus, *is*

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dangerous one again, by the treachery of Lepidus : —wherefore there is a general perſuaſion in the City, that you are coming into Italy with your army ; that, if things ſuccede to our wiſhes, we may have the benefit of your advice and authority ; or, if any ill luck befall us, as it is uſual in war, we may have the ſupport of your army — be aſſured therefore, that all our hopes are in you and Brutus ; that both of you are expected, but Brutus immediately. Ep. Fam. 10.

[7] What *Cicero* here hints of his deſign to write again quickly by *Vetus*, is another ſtrong proof, that this letter was written after *Antony*'s union with *Lepidus*. *Vetus*, as we have ſeen from *letter the 7th*, was with *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, before the death of the Conſuls ; whence he came to *Rome*, in order to ſue for *the Prætorſhip* ; but with a promiſe of returning to *Brutus*, as ſoon as that affair could be finiſhed. He was now preparing to return within a few days, when he carried with him the following Letter from *Cicero*; written, as we ſhall find, not onely after *Lepidus*'s union with *Antony*, but about the time when he was declared an enemy by the Senate, which was ſtill a month later. Ep. Fam. 10. 23. 12. 10.

[1] The reader will ſee a particular character of this *Meſſala* in letter 21ſt.

[2] *Vetus* was now returning to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, according to his promiſe, about the beginning of *July*; when he carried this letter with him from *Cicero*: and from this time he continued probably to act with him to the end of the war ; yet within a few years after it, by his intereſt, as we may imagine, with the conquerors, we find him in the poſſeſſion of his friend *Cicero*'s *Villa*, near *Puteoli*, called the *Academy*: on the ſubject of which there is an Epigram ſtill extant, made by one of *Cicero*'s freedmen. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 31. 2. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 511.

crimine reſpublica, Brute, verſatur; victoreſque rurſus decertare cogimur: id accidit M. Lepidi ſcelere & amentia. Quo tempore cum multa propter eam curam quam pro republica ſuſcepi, graviter ferrem, tum nihil tuli gravius, quàm me non poſſe matris tuæ precibus cedere, non ſororis: nam tibi, quod mihi plurimi eſt, facilè me ſatisfacturum arbitrabar. Nullo enim modo poterat cauſa Lepidi diſtingui ab Antonii: omniumque judicio etiam durior erat; quòd, cum honoribus ampliſſimis à ſenatu eſſet Lepidus ornatus, tum etiam paucis ante diebus præclaras litteras ad ſenatum miſiſſet; repente non ſolum recepit reliquias hoſtium, ſed bellum a-

now in the utmoſt danger, and after we had conquered, we are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and madneſs of M. Lepidus. *Upon which occaſion, when on the account of the care, with which I have charged myſelf for the Republic, I had many things to make me uneaſy, yet nothing has vexed me more, than that it is not in my power to yield to the entreaties of your mother and ſiſter* [3]*: for I imagined, that I ſhould eaſily ſatisfy you; on which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs. For* Lepidus*'s caſe could not by any means be diſtinguiſhed from* Antony*'s: nay in all people's judgement, was even worſe: ſince after he had been adorned with the higheſt honors by the Senate* [4]*; and a few days before, had ſent an excellent letter to them; on a ſudden, he not onely received the broken remains of our enemies, but is waging a moſt cruel*

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[3] One of *Brutus*'s ſiſters, as it is ſaid above, was wife to *Lepidus*, by whom ſhe had children. *Brutus*'s mother therefore, and his other ſiſter, *Tertia*, the wife of *Caſſius*, were preſſing *Cicero*, that *Lepidus* might not either be adjudged an enemy, and his eſtate conſequently confiſcated; or that his children at leaſt, on the merit of being *Brutus*'s nephews, might be exempted from that calamity, and not involved in their father's ruin. *Cicero* could not comply with their entreaties, but got *Lepidus* declared an enemy by the unanimous decree of the Senate, on the laſt of *June*. [Ep. Fam. 12. 10.] He looked upon the interceſſion of the women, as the effect of a feminine weakneſs, and fancied, that *Brutus* would be ſatisfied with the neceſſity of that ſtep: but in this he was much miſtaken, as we ſhall ſee by the next letter from *Brutus*.

[4] The Senate, at *Cicero*'s motion, had decreed to him a *gilt equeſtrian Statue in the Roſtra*: an honor, which had never before been decreed to any man. Philip. 5. 15.

cerrimum terra marique gerit; cujus exitus qui futurus ſit, incertum eſt. Itque cum rogamur, ut miſericordiam liberis ejus impertiamus, nihil affertur quo minus ſumma ſupplicia, ſi (quod Jupiter omen avertat!) pater puerorum vicerit, ſubeunda nobis ſint. Nec vero me fugit, quàm ſit acerbum, parentium ſcelera filiorum pœnis lui. Sed hoc præclare legibus comparatum eſt, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicæ redderet. Itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos; non is, qui Lepidum hoſtem judicat. Atque ille ſi, armis poſitis, de vi damnatus eſſet, quo in judicio certe defenſionem non haberet, eandem calamitatem ſubirent liberi, bonis publicatis; quamqum quod tua mater, & ſoror deprecatur pro pueris, idipſum & multa alia crudeliora nobis omnibus Lepidus, Antonius, & reliqui hoſtes denunciant. Itaque maximam ſpem hoc tempore habemus in te atque exercitu tuo. Cum ad reipubicæ ſummam,

war againſt us by land and ſea, the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we are deſired therefore, to extend mercy to his children, not a word is ſaid, why, if their father ſhould conquer, (which the Gods avert!) we are not to expect the laſt puniſhment from him. I am not ignorant, how hard it is, that Children ſhould ſuffer for the crimes of their parents: but this is wiſely contrived by the laws, that the love of their children ſhould make parents more affectionate to their country. Wherefore it is Lepidus, *who is cruel to his children; not he, who adjudges* Lepidus *to be an enemy. For if, laying down his arms, he were to be condemned onely of violence, in which no defence could be made for him, his children would ſuffer the ſame calamity, by the confiſcation of his eſtate. Yet what your mother and ſiſter are now ſolliciting againſt, in favor of the children, the very ſame and much worſe,* Lepidus, Antony, *and our other enemies are, at this very moment, threatening to us all. Wherefore our greateſt hope is in you and your army. It is of the utmoſt con-*

tum ad gloriam & dignitatem tuam vehementer pertinet, te in Italiam, ut ante ſcripſi venire quamprimum. Eget enim vehementer cum viribus tuis, tum etiam conſilio reſpublica. Veterem, pro ejus erga te benevolentia ſingularique officio, libenter ex tuis litteris complexus ſum : eumque cum tui, tum reipublicæ ſtudioſiſſimum amantiſſimumque cognovi. Ciceronem meum propediem, ut ſpero, videbo: tecum enim illum in Italiam celeriter eſſe venturum confido.

ſequence, both to the Republic in general, and to your glory and dignity in particular, that as I wrote to you before, you come, as ſoon as poſſible, into Italy: *for the Republic is in great want, not onely of your forces, but of your counſil. Upon the recommendation of your letter, I ſerved* Vetus *with pleaſure, on the account of his ſingular benevolence and duty to you: and I found him extremely zealous and affectionate both to you, and to the Republic. I ſhall ſee my Son, I hope, very ſoon; for I depend upon his coming with you quickly to* Italy.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

DE M. Lepido vereri me cogit reliquorum timor: qui ſi eripuerit ſe nobis, (quod velim temere atque injurioſe de illo ſuſpicati ſint homines)

EPIST. XVIII.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

OTHER people's fears oblige me to entertain ſome alſo myſelf, on Lepidus's *account* [1]: *If he ſhould withdraw himſelf from us, (which will prove, I hope, a raſh and injurious ſuſpicion of him)* oro atque obſecro te, Cicero, neceſſitudinem noſtram tuamque in me benevolentiam obteſtans, ſororis ; meæ liberos obliviſcaris eſſe Lepidi filios ; meque his in patris locum ſucceſſiſſe exiſtimes : hoc ſi a te impetro, nihil profecto dubitabis pro his ſuſcipere. Aliter alii cum ſuis vivunt : nihil ego poſſum in ſororis meæ liberis facere, quo poſſit expleri voluntas mea aut officium. Quid vero aut mihi tribuere boni poſſunt, ſi modo digni ſumus quibus aliquid tribuatur ; aut ego matri, ac ſorori, pueriſque illis præſtaturus ſum, ſi nihil valuerit apud te reliquumque ſenatum, contra patrem Lepidum Brutus avunculus ? Scribere multa ad te neque poſſum præ ſollicitudine ac ſtomacho, neque debeo. Nam ſi in tanta re tamque neceſſaria verbis mihi opus eſt ad te excitandum & confirmandum ; nulla ſpes eſt,

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[1] While *Lepidus*'s affair was in agitation at *Rome*, and it was generally expected, that he would be declared an enemy by the Senate, *Brutus*'s Mother and Siſter had ſent an account, we may ſuppoſe, to *Brutus*, of the Sollicitation, which they had been uſing in vain with *Cicero*, to prevent any ſuch decree of the Senate; or to exempt the children at leaſt from the effects of it; and deſired him therefore to interpoſe his authority on that occaſion, which produced the preſent letter.

[2], *I beg and beſeech you,* Cicero ; *conjuring you by our friendſhip and your affection to me, to forget, that my ſiſter's children are* Lepidus's *ſons ; and to conſider me in the place of their father. If I obtain this from you, you will not ſcruple, I am ſure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live in a different manner with their friends : but I can never do enough for my Siſter's children, to ſatisfy either my inclination, or my duty. But what is there, in which honeſt men can oblige me, (if in reality I have deſerved to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of ſervice to my mother, ſiſter, and the boys ; if their Uncle* Brutus *has not as much weight with you and the Senate, to protect, as their father* Lepidus *to hurt them? I feel ſo much uneaſineſs and indignation, that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully to you : for if, in a caſe ſo important and ſo neceſſary, there could be any occaſion for words, to excite and confirm you, there is no hope, that you will do, what I wiſh, and*

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[2] Though *Lepidus* had actually united himſelf with *Antony*, and *Brutus* had heard of it before this time, yet he ſeems to have flattered himſelf ſtill, that it was not with any deſperate view, or a reſolution to act againſt the Republic, but with deſign onely to act the Mediator, agreeably to what he himſelf declared, and make peace among Fellow-Citizens. Ep. Fam. 10. 27, 34.

facturum te quod volo, & quod oportet. Quare noli exſpectare longas preces: intuere meipſum; qui hoc, vel a Cicerone conjunctiſſimo homine privatim; vel a conſulari tali viro, remota neceſſitudine privata, impetrare debeo. Quid ſis facturus, velim mihi quamprimum reſcribas. Kalend. Quint. ex caſtris.

what is proper. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me. Conſider who I am: one, who ought to obtain this, either from Cicero, *a man the moſt particularly united with me; or without any regard to our private friendſhip, from a Conſular, of ſuch eminence. Pray ſend me word, as ſoon as you can, what you reſolve to do* [3]. *From my Camp*, July the 1ſt [4].

EPISTOLA XIX.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

NUllas adhuc à te litteras habebamus; ne famam quidem quæ declararet, te cognita ſenatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque matu-

EPIST. XIX.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

W*E have yet had no letters from you, nor ſo much as any report, to inform us, that in purſuance* of the vote of the Senate, *you were bringing your army into* Italy: *which that you would do, and with all ſpeed, the*

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[3] The great ſollicitude, which *Brutus* peeviſhly expreſſes on the account of his Nephews, and his demand to have the laws ſuſpended in their favor, at a time of ſuch confuſion, when the liberty of *Rome* was at ſtake, ſeems to be much out of character. For if *Lepidus* had returned to his duty, of which *Brutus* profeſſes ſome hopes, the caſe of the children would be ſet right of courſe; or upon the concluſion of the war, which ſide ſoever got the better, their fortunes would neceſſarily have been repaired, either by their Father, or their Uncle. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 470.

[4] *Lepidus* was declared an enemy by the Senate, on the 30*th of June*; the day before the date of this letter; but the news of it could not reach *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, till about a fortnight after.

rares, magnopere deſiderabat reſpublica. Ingraveſcit enim in dies inteſtinum malum, nec externis hoſtibus magis quàm domeſticis laboramus, qui erant omnino ab initio belli, ſed faciliùs frangebantur. Erectior ſenatus erat, non ſententiis ſolùm noſtris, ſed etiam cohortationibus excitatus. Erat in ſenatu ſatis vehemens & acer Panſa, cùm in cæteros hujus generis, tum maximè in ſocerum: cui conſuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur, nihil ut in Cæſare reprehenderes; nonnulla in Hirtio: hujus belli fortuna, ut in ſecundis, fluxa;

Republic earneſtly deſired of you [1]. *For our inteſtine evil gains ground upon us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies abroad, than from thoſe at home* [2]*: who where troubleſome indeed from the beginning of the war, but more eaſily kept under. For the Senate was then in higher ſpirits; rouſed not onely by my votes, but exhortations.* Panſa, *at the head of it, was ſufficiently briſk and vigorous againſt all the reſt of that claſs; but above all againſt his Father in law* [3]*: who, during his Conſulſhip, wanted neither courage from the firſt, nor fidelity to the laſt. The war was ſo managed at* Modena, *that you could find no fault with* Cæſar, *though ſome with* Hirtius [4]. *The fortune of this war, if compared with a proſperous ſtate, is*

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[1] The Senate had paſſed a vote, at *Cicero*'s motion, to call *Brutus* into *Italy*, with his army, of which *Brutus* had not yet taken any notice, or ſignified any intention of complying with it. *Cicero* therefore preſſes him to it very warmly in this letter, where he opens the grounds of it, and lays before him the uncertain and critical ſtate of their affairs.

[2] After the union of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, their partiſans at *Rome* began to be very inſolent, and troubleſome to the friends of liberty; whoſe apprehenſions alſo were much increaſed by the ſuſpicions, which they had reaſon to conceive about *Octavius*.

[3] *Q. Fufius Calenus*, of whom ſome account is given above, Lett. 2. Not. 6.

[4] It does not appear from any of *Cicero*'s letters what particular reaſon he had to blame *Hirtius*, with regard to his conduct at *Modena*; beſides that general want of vigor and celerity mentioned above, in executing the decrees of the Senate; and the imprudence of imagining, that the war might be ended by amicable methods. Lett. 8. Not. 3. Lett. 4. Not. 9.

ut in adverſis, bona: erat victrix reſpublica, cæſis Antonii copiis, ipſo expulſo à Bruto. Deinde ita multa peccata, ut quodammodo victoria excideret è manibus: perterritos, inermes, ſaucios, non ſunt noſtri duces perſecuti: datumque Lepido tempus eſt, in quo levitatem ejus ſæpè perſpectam, majoribus in malis experiremur. Sunt exercitus boni, ſed rudes, Bruti & Planci. Sunt fideliſſima, & maxima auxilia Gallorum: ſed Cæſa-

uncertain; *if with an adverſe one, good. The Republic was victorious*; Antony's *forces routed*; *he himſelf driven out of* Italy *by* Brutus. *But ſo many blunders enſued, that the victory ſlipt, as it were, out of our hands: for our Generals did not think fit to purſue the frightened, diſarmed, diſabled rebels* [5]*: and an opportunity was given to* Lepidus, *to make us feel the effects of his levity*; *though felt by us indeed often before, but now to our greater miſchief* [6]. *The armies of* Brutus *and* Plancus *are good, but raw* [7]*: the* Gallic *auxiliaries faithfull and numerous. But as to*

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[5] *Cicero* was much ſhocked, as he often complains, that their Generals at *Modena*, *D. Brutus* and *Octavius*, made ſo little uſe of their victory, as to give *Antony* time, for want of purſuing him, to gather the ſcattered remains of his forces, and to join with *Ventidius*, and march in all ſafety out of *Italy*. But *D. Brutus* excuſed himſelf from any ſhare of that blame, by aſſuring *Cicero*, that his army, after having been ſhut up ſo long in *Modena*, was deſtitute of all neceſſaries for ſuch a purſuit, and without any horſe, whilſt *Antony*'s horſe remained almoſt intire; and that *Octavius*, who alone was in condition to follow him, could neither be prevailed with himſelf, nor prevail with his troops to do it. [Ep. Fam. l. 11. 10, 13.] *Plancus* alſo, in a letter to *Cicero*, declares, that it was wholly owing to *Octavius*, that *Antony* ſurvived that defeat, and was able to give them any farther trouble. Ep. Fam. l. 10. 24.

[6] By uniting his army with *Antony*'s, and renewing the war; which would otherwiſe have been at an end by the victory at *Modena*.

[7] *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus* were appointed Conſuls for the following year, by *J. Cæſar*, and had now joined their armies in the defence of the Republic, againſt *Antony* and *Lepidus* in *Gaul*: [Ep. Fam. 11. 15.] but *Plancus*, who had much the better army, though not ſo numerous, ſoon after betrayed and deſerted his Collegue. Beſides his Horſe and *Gallic* auxiliaries, he had four complete legions, three of which were veteran: whilſt *Brutus*, though he reckoned ten in all, had but one veteran Legion; and the reſt raw and unprovided with all neceſſaries. Ep. Fam. 10. 24. 11. 10, 13.

rem meis conſiliis adhuc gubernatum, præclara ipſum indole, admirabilique conſtantia, improbiſſimis litteris quidam fallacibuſque interpretibus ac nunciis impulerunt in ſpem certiſſimam conſulatus. Quod ſimulatque ſenſi, neque ego illum abſentem litteris monere deſtiti, nec accuſare præſentes ejus neceſſarios, qui ejus cupiditati ſuffragari videbantur: nec in ſenatu ſceleratiſſimorum conſiliorum fontes aperire dubitavi: nec verò ulla in re memini, aut ſenatum meliorem, aut magiſtratus. Numquam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis, vel potentiſſimi potius (quando quidem potentia jam in vi poſita eſt & armis) accidit, ut nemo tribunus plebis, nemo alio magiſtratu, nemo privatus, auctor exſiſte-

Cæſar, *who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent diſpoſition, and wonderfull conſtancy, ſome people, by moſt wicked letters, meſſages, and fallacious accounts of things, have puſhed him to an aſſured hope of the Conſulſhip. Which as ſoon as I perceived, I never ceaſed admoniſhing him in abſence, nor reproaching his friends here preſent, who ſeemed to encourage his ambition: nor did I ſcruple to lay open the ſource of thoſe traiterous counſils in the Senate* [8] *: nor do I ever remember the Senate, or the Magiſtrates to have behaved better on any occaſion. For it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honor to a powerfull, or rather moſt powerfull man, (ſince power is now meaſured by force and arms) that no Tribun, nor any other Magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a private Senator would move for it* [9].

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[8] It has been commonly believed, on the authority of that *Plutarch*, *Cicero* was a promotor of *Octavius*'s demand of the Conſulate; being duped and drawn into it by an aſſurance given him by the young man, that he would take him for his Collegue, and be governed by him in all points during their joint adminiſtration; but this letter is a confutation of that ſtory, and ſhews, that no man was more ſhocked at *Octavius*'s attempt, or took more pains to diſſuade it than *Cicero*.

[9] It is very remarkable, what *Cicero* here declares, that there was not a ſingle Magiſtrate, or Senator, who could be induced to move the Senate, for a grant of the Conſulſhip

exſiſteret: ſed in hac conſtantia atque virtute, erat tamen ſollicita civitas. Illudimur enim, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum imperatorum inſolentia. Tantum quiſque ſe in republica poſſe poſtulat, quantum habet virium: non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet; non judicium, non exiſtimatio civium, non poſteritatis verecundia. Hæc ego multo antè proſpiciens fugiebam ex Italia, tum, cùm me veſtrorum edictorum fama revocavit. Incitaviſti verò tu me, Brute, Veliæ: quamquam enim dolebam, in eam me urbem ire, quam tu fugeres, qui eam liberaviſſes; (quod

Yet in the midſt of all this firmneſs and virtue, the City is ſtill alarmed: for we are inſulted, Brutus, *both by the licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers, and the inſolence of the Generals. Every one demands to have as much power in the ſtate, as he has force to extort it: no reaſon, no moderation, no law, no cuſtom, no duty is at all regarded; no judgement or opinion of the Citizens; no reverence for poſterity. I had foreſeen all this long beforehand, and was flying out of* Italy, *at the time when the fame of your edicts called me back again* [10]. *But you,* Brutus, *gave me freſh courage at* Velia [11]. *For though it grieved me to think, that I was going to that City, from which you, who had given liberty to*

ſhip to *Octavius*. Which explanes the reaſon of that extraordinary method of demanding it, by a deputation of his Officers, with a rough Centurion at their head; who, throwing back his gown and laying his hand upon his ſword, bluntly declared, *that if they would not make him Conſul, that ſhould.* Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 26. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 457.

[10] This happened in the preceding ſummer, while *Antony* and *Dolabella* were Conſuls: when *Cicero* deſpairing of any good from their adminiſtration, reſolved to make an excurſion into *Greece*, and ſpend the remainder of that year at *Athens*, till the next Conſuls entered into office, on *the firſt of Jan.* With this deſign he proceeded as far as *Syracuſe*; but being driven back to *Rhegium* by contrary winds, and meeting there with news of a change of affairs at *Rome*, and of *Antony*'s diſpoſition to liſten to pacific counſils, he dropt his intended voyage, and returned to the City, in order to aſſiſt in any meaſures proper to bring about ſo deſirable an end.

[11] A port on the *Leucanian* coaſt, where he had his laſt interview with *Brutus*, of which, after his arrival at *Rome*, he gave a pathetic account to the Senate. Philip. 1. 4.

mihi quoque quondam acciderat, periculo ſimili, caſu triſtiore) perrexi tamen, Romamque perveni; nulloque præſidio quatefeci Antonium; contraque ejus arma nefanda, præſidia, quæ oblata ſunt Cæſaris, conſilio & auctoritate firmavi: qui ſi ſteterit idem, mihique paruerit; ſatis videmur habituri præſidii: ſin autem impiorum conſilia plus valuerint, quàm noſtra; aut imbecillitas ætatis non potuerit gravitatem rerum ſuſtinere; ſpes omnis eſt in te. Quam ob rem advola, obſecro; atque eam rempublicam, quam virtute atque animi magnitudine magis quam eventis rerum li-

it, was forced to fly, (which had happened alſo formerly to me, in a caſe of ſimilar danger, but of more unhappy iſſue) [12] *I yet went on, and came to* Rome; *and, without the ſupport of any guard, ſhook the power of* Antony [13]; *and by my advice and authority ſecured to us the troops of* Cæſar, *which the occaſion offered, againſt his traiterous arms* [14]. *In whom, if he continues in the ſame diſpoſition and deference to my advice, we are likely to have a ſufficient guard: but if the counſils of the diſaffected ſhould have more influence with him than mine; or if the imbecillity of his age ſhould not be able to ſuſtain the weight of the affairs, which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in you. For which reaſon, fly to us, I beſeech you; and perfect your work of freeing the Republic; which you have freed rather as yet by your virtue and greatneſs of mind, than in fact and rea-*

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[12] He alludes to the caſe of his Exil; when he was not onely driven out of the City by his enemies, as *Brutus* now was, but was baniſhed by a particular law, which had not yet happened to *Brutus*, though it did in a ſhort time after.

[13] By his firſt *Philippic*, delivered to the Senate, while *Antony* was Conſul, and in the City; wherein he admoniſhes him with great freedom, of the danger, to which the violent meaſures, that he was then purſuing, would expoſe both the Republic and himſelf, &c. In relation to which ſpeech, he ſays in one of his letters, *that while the reſt of the Senate acted like Slaves, he alone ſhewed himſelf to be free.* Ep. Fam. 12. 25. Phil. 5. 7.

[14] See Lett. 5. Note 4. and Lett. 9. Note 3.

beraſti, exitu libera: omnis omnium concurſus ad te futurus eſt. Hortare idem per litteras Caſſium. Spes libertatis nuſquam niſi in veſtrorum caſtrorum principiis eſt. Firmos omnino & duces habemus ab occidente, & exercitus. Hoc adoleſcentis præſidium equidem adhuc firmum eſſe confido: ſed ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimeſcam. Habes totum reipublicæ ſtatum; qui quidem tum erat, cùm has litteras da-

lity [15]. *All the world will run to you. Exhort* Caſſius *by letter to do the ſame. There is no hope of liberty any where, but in the ſtrength of your camps* [16]. *We have both the Generals, and the armies of the Weſt, wholly firm to us* [17]*: I have ſome confidence alſo, that theſe troops of the young man are ſtill firm: but there are ſo many at work to pervert him, that I am ſometimes afraid, leſt they make an impreſſion on him. You ſee the whole ſtate of the Republic, as it ſtood at the time, when I was ſending away this*

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[15] The Conſpirators imagined, that, by deſtroying *Cæſar*, they ſhould give immediate liberty to the Republic: but things were now taking a quite different turn; and, by the treachery of *Lepidus*, and their apprehenſions of the ſame treachery from *Octavius*, the Republic was in danger of being oppreſſed by a more cruel Tyranny than the former; unleſs *Brutus* and *Caſſius* could bring their armies into *Italy* to prevent it.

[16] *Principiis* is the general reading both of the Editions and the MSS; yet *Manutius* ſuſpects it, and prefers *præſidiis*. But *principia* was a peculiar quarter or diviſion of the Camp; in which the officers uſed to pitch their tents, and hold their aſſemblies for the affairs of the army. [Flor. 3. 10. 4. 2.] It is uſed ſometimes alſo by *Livy* and other writers, to denote the Soldiers themſelves, or that body of them called *Principes*, which being the flower of the army, is here put for the whole: whereas if the original reading had been *præſidiis*; a word of common uſe, underſtood by all, and mentioned twice before in the ſame page, it is not probable, that the tranſcribers would have changed it for one of a more difficult and recondite interpretation. Vid. Flor. 3. 10. 4. 2. Liv. 8. 10. Pet. Victor. var. lect. l. 3. c. 6. & Car. d'Aquino Lexic. militar.

[17] *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus*, as it is ſaid above, had united their armies in *Gaul*, in defence of the public liberty: *Sextus Pompey* alſo, though he had quitted *Spain*, was maſter of a very conſiderable force, which he had offered to the ſervice of the Republic. [Philip. 13. 10. And *Aſinius Pollio*, who now governed *Spain*, as Proconſul, gave ſtrong aſſurances in his letters to *Cicero*, of his fidelity to the ſame cauſe. Ep. Fam. 10. 32, 33.

bam. Velim deinceps meliora ſint: ſin aliter fuerit, (quod dii omen avertant! reipublicæ vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis eſſe debebat: mihi quidem quantulum reliqui eſt?

letter. I wiſh, that things may henceforward take a better turn: but if it ſhould fall out otherwiſe, (which omen the Gods avert!) I ſhall lament the fate of the Republic, which ought to be immortal; but what a poor ſhare of life is left at theſe years for me?

EPISTOLA XX.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

BReves tuæ litteræ: breves dico? immò nullæ. Tribuſne verſiculis his temporibus Brutus ad me? nihil ſcripſiſſes potiùs; & requiris meas. Quis umquam ad te tuorum ſine meis venit? Quæ autem epiſtola non pondus habuit? Quæ ſi ad te perlatæ non ſunt, ne domeſticas quidem tuas perlatas arbitror. Ciceroni ſcribis

EPIST. XX.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

YOUR *letter was ſhort: ſhort do I ſay? it was no letter at all. In times like theſe, can* Brutus *think three lines enough to me* [1]*? You had better have written nothing; and yet are always calling for my letters. Did any of your people ever come to you without them? And was there ever a ſingle Epiſtle, which had not ſomething of weight in it? If theſe have not been delivered to you, neither were your letters from home, I ſuppoſe, delivered to you.*

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[1] *Plutarch* takes notice, that *Brutus* was remarkable for *his brevity, in all his Greek Epiſtles,* in which he affected the *ſententious and Laconic ſtile.* [in Brut.] *Cicero* rallies him here for the ſame affectation in his Latin letters; as not being agreeable to the importance of the affairs, which they had now upon their hands, and that free communication of their counſils, which the public ſervice required. But it appears on the whole, from the other letters of this collection that there was no great reaſon to complain of him on this head.

te longiorem daturum epiſtolam; rectè id quidem: ſed hæc quoque debuit eſſe plenior. Ego autem, cùm ad me de Ciceronis abs te diſceſſu ſcripſiſſes, ſtatim extruſi tabellarios, litteraſque ad Ciceronem; ut, etiam ſi in Italiam veniſſet, ad te rediret: nihil enim mihi jucundius, nihil illi honeſtius: quamquam aliquoties ei ſcripſeram, ſacerdotum comitia, mea ſumma contentione in alterum annum eſſe rejecta: quod ego cùm Ciceronis cauſa

But you will ſend me a longer letter, you ſay, by my ſon [2]. *That indeed will be right, but this alſo ought to have been fuller. For my part, you had no ſooner ſent me word, that my ſon had left you, than I diſpatched away meſſengers, with letters to him, that if they had found him even landed in* Italy, *he ſhould turn back directly to you: that nothing could be more agreeable to me, or reputable to him: though I had written to him ſeveral times before, that I had procured the election of Prieſts to be poſtponed, after a very hard ſtruggle, to the next year* [3]. *In which I exerted myſelf, not onely for the*

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[2] *Brutus* had actually ſent away young *Cicero* towards *Rome*, according to his Father's deſire, to be a Candidate for one of the vacant Prieſthoods. See Lett. 13.

[3] *Manutius* is puzzled how to account for the conſiſtency of this paſſage. "What does *Cicero* mean, ſays he, by *this hard ſtruggle*; when the election muſt have been poſtponed of courſe to the next year, without any ſtruggle at all; ſince, as I have ſhewn above, there was no Magiſtrate at this time in *Rome*, capable of holding it?" *Mr. Tunſtall* alſo from the ſame difficulty, has raiſed one of his numerous objections to the credit of theſe letters, [*p.* 241, *&c.*] Yet it admits an eaſy ſolution from *Cicero*'s genuin epiſtles, which I ſhall endeavour to explane as briefly as I can.

In the beginning of the civil war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, *Cæſar* being reſolved to be Conſul for the following year, a queſtion was ſtarted, whether, in the abſence of the Conſuls, who were abroad in *Pompey*'s camp, the *Conſular election* could not be made by a *Prætor*. *Lepidus*, who was then *Prætor*, maintained, that it could: but *Cicero* condemned that opinion, and the author of it very ſeverely, and declared upon the authority of the *augural books, that neither the Conſuls, nor even the Prætors could be created by a Prætor, and that there never had been an inſtance of it.* [Ep. ad Att. 9. 9.] *Cæſar* therefore, not willing at this time to break through the ancient cuſtom, was afterwards declared Dictator by *Lepidus*, in order to hold that election, in which he made himſelf Conſul, with *P. Servilius.* [Cæſ. Comment. de Bell. civ. 2. 549.] But in the end

elaboravi, tum Domitii, Catonis, Lentuli, Bibulorum: quod ad te etiam ſcripſeram. Sed videlicet cùm illam puſillam epiſtolam tuam ad me dabas, nondum erat tibi id notum. Quare omni ſtudio à te, mi Brute, contendo, ut Ciceronem

ſake of Cicero, *but of* Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, and the Bibulus's [4]. *This I mentioned alſo in a letter to you; which was not, it ſeems, come to your hands, when you ſent away that puny epiſtle of yours. Wherefore I beg of you, my* Brutus, *with the great-*

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end of the war, when he was become maſter of the Republic, he no longer retained any of thoſe ſcruples; but by the plenitude of his power named all the Magiſtrates, as he pleaſed, and a little before his death ſettled the ſucceſſion of the Conſuls and Tribuns, for the two following years. [Ep. ad Att. 14. 6.]

The City likewiſe, by an habitual patience under the daily ſubverſion of all their laws, during *Cæſar*'s reign, were grown, we may imagine, much leſs ſcrupulous than before, about the obſervance of their old forms, and would eaſily admit an election of Prieſts or Prætors to be made by a Prætor; eſpecially in this particular exigency of their affairs, and the vacancy of the Conſulſhip. For we find in fact, that ſuch an election was going to be made, and that *Cicero* expected it to be made very ſpeedily; and for that reaſon admoniſhed his friend *Furnius*, to come to *Rome* directly, leſt he ſhould be too late to appear as a Candidate for the Prætorſhip. [Ep. Fam. 10. 25.] Yet it is certain, that there was no other Magiſtrate in the City, who could preſide in that election, but the Prætor; who, in all other tranſactions, was *ſupplying the Conſular Office* at this very time, as *Cicero* himſelf tells us according *to the cuſtom of their Anceſtors*. [Ep. Fam. 12.] On the whole then; *Cicero*, upon the unexpected caſe of the death of the Conſuls, not knowing at firſt what the Senate or the Prætors either would, or could do, with regard to the vacant Prieſthoods, and the creation of the other Magiſtrates, expreſſes his apprehenſions, in the 10th Letter, of much difficulty and delay in that affair; yet perceiving them reſolved at laſt to procede to thoſe elections, he thought it the moſt adviſeable, as he ſays, on many accounts, for the public ſervice, to get both the *Pontifical* and *Prætorian* elections poſtponed to *January* following; [ibid. 26.] when *D. Brutus* and *Plancus* were to be Conſuls; under whoſe adminiſtration the friends of liberty would have the better chance for ſucceſs; nor be obliged in the mean time to deſert their commands in the Provinces, in order to purſue their pretenſions at *Rome*, to the detriment of the Republic, in ſo critical a conjuncture: and this account I take to be perfectly conſiſtent with every thing that is ſaid on that ſubject, either in the ſuſpected or genuin letters of *Cicero*.

[4] Theſe young noblemen were all likewiſe at this time in *Brutus*'s camp, and deſigned to be Candidates for the vacant Prieſthoods.

meum ne dimittas, tecumque adducas: quod ipſum, ſi rempublicam, cui ſuſceptus es, reſpicis, tibi jam jamque faciendum eſt: renatum enim bellum eſt: idque non parvo ſcelere Lepidi. Exercitus autem Cæſaris, qui erat optimus, non modò nihil prodeſt, ſed etiam cogit exercitum tuum flagitari: qui ſi Italiam attigerit, erit civis nemo (quem quidem civem appellari fas ſit) qui ſe non in tua caſtra conferat: etſi Brutum præclarè cum Planco conjunctum habemus: ſed non ignoras, quàm ſint incerti, & animi hominum, infecti partibus, & exitus prœliorum. Quin etiam, ſi ut ſpero, viceri-

eſt earneſtneſs, that you would not diſmiſs my ſon; but bring him hither along with you. This you muſt do inſtantly, if you have any regard for the Republic, for which you was born. For the war is renewed upon us, by the great treachery of Lepidus: *and as for* Cæſar's *army, which was the beſt, it is not onely of no ſervice to us, but obliges us even to call for yours* [5]. *Whenever that ſhall ſet foot in* Italy, *there will not be a ſingle Citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, who will not preſently be in your Camp. We have* D. Brutus *indeed happily united with* Plancus [6]. *But you are not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with party* [7], *as well as the events of battles, are. Nay, ſhould we conquer, as I hope*

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[5] *Octavius*'s army, compoſed intirely of Veterans, who had been trained under his Uncle *J. Cæſar*, began, after the battel of *Modena*, and the death of the two Conſuls, to diſcover their diſaffection to the Republican cauſe; and an unwillingneſs to act againſt their old Commanders and Fellow-ſoldiers; with whom they had ſerved ſo ſucceſsfully to the ruin of the *Pompeian* party, which they now imagined to be reviving and gathering ſtrength again, by the growing power of the Senate and the depreſſion of *Antony*.

[6] See Letter the 19th, Note [7].

[7] *Cicero* ſeems here to intimate ſome diſtruſt of *Plancus*, on the account of his old attachment to the *Cæſarian* party; and he had good reaſon for it; ſince *D. Brutus*, in a letter to him, dated *May the 6th*, acquaints him, that he had intercepted ſome of *Antony*'s *papers*, which ſignified that *Antony* was not without hopes of gaining him. [Ep. Fam. 11. 11.] *Plancus* in the mean while was giving *Cicero* the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his fidelity to the Republic; yet ſoon after the date of this letter, infamouſly betrayed *D. Brutus*; who being deſerted likewiſe by his own army was purſued and killed by ſome of *Antony*'s Soldiers. See Life of Cic. vol. 2. 461.

mus, tamen magnam gubernationem tui conſilii tuæque auctoritatis res deſiderabit. Subveni igitur, per deos, idque quamprimùm; tibique perſuade, non te idibus Martiis, quibus ſervitutem à tuis civibus repuliſti, plus profuiſſe patriæ, quàm, ſi maturè veneris, profuturum II. idus Quintus.

we ſhall, there will be a great want of your advice and authority, to ſettle all our affairs. Help us therefore, for God's ſake; and that as ſoon as poſſible: and aſſure yourſelf, that you did not do a greater ſervice to your country, on the Ides of March, *when you delivered your Fellow-Citizens from ſlavery, than you will do, by coming to us quickly.* July the 12th.

EPISTOLA XXI.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

MEſſalem habes. Quibus igitur litteris tam accurate ſcriptis aſſequi poſſum, ſubtiliùs ut explicem, quæ gerantur, quæque ſint in republica, quàm tibi is exponet, qui & optimè omnia novit, & elegantiſſimè expedire & deferre ad te poteſt? Cave enim exiſtimes, Brute, (quamquam non eſt neceſſe ea me ad te, quæ tibi nota ſunt, ſcribere; ſed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo

EPIST. XXI.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

YOU *have* Meſſala *with you* [1]. *How is it poſſible therefore for me, to explane by letter, though ever ſo accurately drawn, the preſent ſtate of our public tranſactions, more preciſely than he; who both knows them all more perfectly, and can deſcribe and relate them to you more elegantly than any man? For do not imagine,* Brutus, *(though there is no occaſion for me to write, what you know already yourſelf, but that I cannot paſs over in ſilence ſuch an excellence of all good qualities) do* ſilentio præterire) cave putes, probitate, conſtantia, cura, ſtudio reipublicæ, quidquam illi eſſe ſimile: ut eloquentia, qua mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur: quamquam in hac ipſa, ſapientia plus apparet; ita gravi judicio multaque arte ſe exercuit in veriſſimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem induſtria eſt, tantumque evigilat in ſtudio, ut non maxima ingenio (quod in eo ſummum eſt) gratia habenda videatur. Sed provehor amore; non enim id propoſitum eſt huic epiſtolæ, Meſſalam ut laudem; præſertim ad Brutum; cui & virtus illius non minùs, quàm mihi, nota eſt, & hæc ipſa ſtudia, quæ laudo, notiora: quem cùm à me dimittens graviter ferrem, hoc levabar uno, quòd ad te, tamquam ad alterum me, proficiſcens, & officio fungebatur, & laudem maximam ſequebatur. Sed hæc hactenus. Venio nunc, longo

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[1] See the character of *Meſſala* at large, *Life of Cic. vol.* 2. *p.* 575. *Note* 1.

not imagine, I ſay, that for probity, conſtancy, care and zeal for the Republic, there is any one equal to him: ſo that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excells, ſcarce finds a place amongſt his other praiſes: ſince even in that, his wiſdom ſhines the moſt eminent; by his having formed himſelf, with ſo much judgement and art, to the trueſt manner of ſpeaking. Yet his induſtry all the while is ſo remarkable; and he ſpends ſo much of his time in Study, that he ſeems to owe but little to his parts, which are ſtill the greateſt. But I am carried too far by my love for him. For it is not the purpoſe of this Epiſtle, to praiſe Meſſala; *eſpecially to* Brutus, *to whom his virtue is not leſs known, than to myſelf; and theſe very ſtudies, which I am praiſing, ſtill more known; whom when I could not take leave of without great regret, I comforted myſelf with reflecting, that by going away to you, as it were, to my ſecond ſelf, he both diſcharged his duty, and purſued the ſureſt path to glory. But ſo much for that. I come now, after a long interval, to conſider a certain letter of your's* [2], *wherein, while you*

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[2] The letter here refered to ſeems to be *the 11th*, dated *May 15th*; whereas this was written about the end of *July*, after a long interval, as he calls it, of about two months.

ſanè intervallo, ad quandam epiſtolam, qua mihi multa tribuens, unum reprehendebas, quòd in honoribus decernendis eſſem nimius, & tamquam prodigus. Tu hoc: alius fortaſſe, quòd in animadverſione pœnaque durior; niſi forte utrumque tu. Quod ſi ita eſt; utriuſque rei meum judicium tibi cupio eſſe notiſſimum: neque ſolum, ut Solonis dictum uſurpem, qui & ſapientiſſimus fuit ex ſeptem, & legum ſcriptor ſolus ex ſeptem; is rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, præmio & pœna: eſt ſcilicet utriuſque rei modus, ſicut reliquarum, & quædam in utroque genere mediocritas: ſed non tanta de re propoſitum eſt hoc loco diſputare. Quid ego autem ſecutus hoc bello ſim in ſententiis dicendis, aperire non alienum puto.

allow me, to have done well in many things, you find fault with me for one; *that* in confering honors, I have been too free and even prodigal. *You charge me with this*; *other people probably*, with being too ſevere in puniſhing; *or you yourſelf perhaps with both* [3]. *If ſo, I deſire, that my judgement on each may be fully known to you. Not that I mean to juſtify myſelf onely by* Solon's *maxim*; *the wiſeſt of the Seven* [4], *and the onely Legiſlator of them all*; *who uſed to ſay*, that the public weal was comprized in two things; rewards and puniſhments; *in which however, as in every thing elſe, there is a certain medium and temperament to be obſerved. But it is not my deſign at this time to diſcuſs ſo great a ſubject*; *yet I think it not improper, to lay open the motives of my opinions and votes in the Senate, from the beginning of this*

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[3] *Brutus* was often admoniſhing *Cicero*, of his being more ſevere in his votes and decrees againſt their enemies, than the ſtate of their affairs required. Which point *Cicero* diſputes with him in theſe letters, and ſhews, that, in their preſent circumſtances, ſevere methods were of more ſervice to the Republic, than that oſtentation of lenity which *Brutus* affected. See Lett. 5, 9, 11, 14, &c.

[4] One of the *ſeven wiſemen of Greece*, as they were called; who gave a body of laws to the *Athenians*, about the time in which *Tarquinius Priſcus* reigned at *Rome*. A. Gell. 17. 21.

Poſt interitum Cæſaris, & veſtras memorabiles Idus Martias, Brute, quid ego prætermiſſum a vobis, quantamque impendere reipublicæ tempeſtatem dixerim, non es oblitus. Magna peſtis erat depulſa per vos, magna populi Romani macula deleta: vobis vero parta divina gloria: ſed inſtrumentum regni delatum ad Lepidum & Antonium: quorum alter inconſtantior, alter impurior; uterque pacem metuens, inimicus otio. His ardentibus perturbandæ reipublicæ cupiditate, quod opponi poſſet præſidium, non habebamus. Erexerat enim ſe civitas in retinenda libertate conſentiens. Nos tum nimis acres? vos fortaſſe ſapientius exceſſiſtis urbe ea, quam liberatis: Italiæ ſua vobis ſtudia profitenti remiſiſtis. Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem; nec te in

war. After the death of Cæſar, *and thoſe your memorable* Ides of March; *you cannot forget*, Brutus, *what I declared to have been omitted by you* [5]; *and what a tempeſt I foreſaw hanging over the Republic. You had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great ſtain from the Roman people; acquired to yourſelves divine glory: yet all the equipage of Kingly power was left ſtill to* Lepidus *and* Antony*: the one inconſtant; the other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and enemies to the public quiet. While theſe were ardently wiſhing, to raiſe freſh diſturbances in the ſtate, we had no troops about us, which we could oppoſe to them: for the whole City was eager and unanimous in aſſerting it's liberty. I was then thought too violent* [6]; *whilſt you perhaps more wiſely withdrew yourſelves from that City, which you had delivered; and refuſed the help of all* Italy, *that offered to arm itſelf in your cauſe* [7]. *Wherefore when I ſaw the City in the hands of rebels; and oppreſſed*

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[5] The omiſſion here ſignified, and frequently complained of by *Cicero* in his letters to *Brutus* and the other Conſpirators, was that, *of not killing Antony*, together with *Cæſar*. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 3, 4. 10. 28.

[6] See Lett. 5. Note 1.

[7] See Lett. ibid. and Note 3.

ea nec Caſſium tuto eſſe poſſe ; eamque armis oppreſſam ab Antonino ; mihi quoque ipſi eſſe excedendum putavi. Tætrum enim ſpectaculum, oppreſſa ab impiis civitas opitulandi poteſtate præciſa. Sed animus idem, qui ſemper infixus eſt patriæ caritate, diſceſſum ab ejus periculis ferre non potuit: itaque in medio Achaico curſu, cum, Eteſiarum diebus, Auſter me in Italiam, quaſi diſſuaſor mei conſilii, retuliſſet; te vidi Veliæ, doluique vehementer. Cedebas enim, Brute, cedebas; quoniam Stoici noſtri negant fugere ſapientis. Romam ut veni, ſtatim me obtuli Antonii ſceleri atque dementiæ: quem cum in me incitaviſſem, conſilia inire cœpi Brutina planè

by the arms of Antony, ; *and that neither you nor* Caſſius *could be ſafe in it* ; *I thought it time for me to quit it too. For a City overpowered by Traitors, without the means of relieving itſelf, is a wretched ſpectacle. Yet my mind, always the ſame, and ever fixed on the love of my country, could not bear the thought of leaving it in it's diſtreſs. In the midſt therefore of my voyage to* Greece, *and in the very ſeaſon of the Eteſian winds* [8], *when an uncommon ſouth wind, as if diſpleaſed with my reſolution, had driven me back to* Italy, *I found you at* Velia ; *and was greatly concerned at it* [9.] *For you were retreating*, Brutus ; *were retreating, I ſay* ; *ſince your* Stoics *will not allow their wiſeman to fly* [10]. *As ſoon as I came to* Rome, *I expoſed myſelf to the wickedneſs and rage of* Antony [11] : *whom when I had exaſperated againſt me, I began to enter into meaſures, in the very ſpirit*

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[8] The *Eteſian* winds were ſo called, from their being *annual*, or conſtant every year, in the Seaſon of the Dog-days ; blowing from the *north*, or *north-weſt* ; and favourable therefore, as it is here hinted, for ſailing from *Sicily* into *Greece*. Plin. H. N. 2. 47.

[9] See Lett. 19. Note 10, 11.

[10] *Brutus*, though he profeſſed himſelf to be of the *old Academy*, yet was a great favorer and imitator of the *Stoics* ; whom *Cicero* calls therefore *your Stoics*. Theſe maintained, that a wiſeman could not be moved by any paſſion ; and was incapable therefore of fearing, or flying from any thing ; and that it was his part to reſiſt, whatever was contrary to nature and reaſon, and either to conquer or die.

[11] By ſpeaking his firſt Philippic to the Senate.

(veſtri enim hæc ſunt propria ſanguinis) reipublicæ liberandæ. Longa ſunt, quæ reſtant, prætereunda: ſunt enim de me: tantum dico; Cæſarem hunc adoleſcentem, per quem adhuc ſumus, ſi verum fateri volumus, fluxiſſe ex fonte conſiliorum meorum. Huic habiti à me honores nulli quidem, Brute, niſi debiti; nulli, niſi neceſſarii. Ut enim primum libertatem revocare cœpimus, cum ſe nondum ne Decimi quidem Bruti divina virtus ita commoviſſet, ut jam id ſcire poſſemus; atque omne præſidium eſſet in puero, qui à cervicibus noſtris avertiſſet Antonium; quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam. Decrevi etiam imperium: quod quamquam videbatur illi ætati honorificum, tamen erat exer-

of the Brutus's, *(for ſuch are peculiar to your blood) for the delivery of the Republic. I ſhall omit the long recital of what followed, ſince it relates to myſelf; and obſerve onely, that this* young Cæſar, *by whom, if we are willing to confeſs the truth, we ſubſiſt at this day, flowed from the ſource of my counſils* [12]. *I decreed him no honors,* Brutus, *but what were due; none, but what were neceſſary. For when we firſt began to recover any liberty, while the divine virtue of* D. Brutus *had not yet ſhewn itſelf ſo far, that we could know it's real force* [13]; *and our whole defence was in the boy, who had repelled* Antony *from our necks; what honor was not really due to him? though I gave him nothing ſtill but the praiſe of words; and that even moderate. I decreed him indeed a* legal *command* [14]; *which, though it ſeemed honorable to one of that age, was yet neceſſary to*

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[12] All the ſervice, which the Republic had hitherto received from *Octavius*, and which *Brutus* himſelf, in the following letter, owns to be very great, were intirely derived from *Cicero*'s authority and management of him. Vid. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

[13] Before the act of killing *Cæſar*, *D. Brutus* does not ſeem to have had any particular character of virtue or Patriotiſm; nor after that act, to have given any remarkable proof of his vigor, till his ſeizure of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, in oppoſition to *Antony*, and his brave defence of *Modena*.

[14] See Philip. 5. 16.

citum habenti neceſſarium : quid enim eſt ſine imperio exercitus? Statuam Philippus decrevit; celeritatem petitionis primò Servius; pòſt, majorem etiam Servilius : nihil tum nimium videbatur. Sed neſcio quomodo faciliùs in timore benigni, quam in victoria grati reperiuntur. Ego enim, D. Bruto liberato, cùm lætiſſimus ille civitati dies illuxiſſet, idemque caſu Bruti natalis eſſet, decrevi, ut in faſtis ad eum diem Bruti nomen adſcriberetur: in eoque ſum majorum exemplum ſecutus, qui hunc honorem mulieri Larentiæ tribuerunt ; cui vos pontifices ad aram in Velabro facere ſoletis : quod ego cum dabam Bruto,

one, who had an army : for what is an army without ſuch a command? Philippus *decreed him a Statue* [15] ; Servius, *the privilege of ſuing for offices before the legal time* [16] ; *which time was ſhortened afterwards by* Servilius [17]. *Nothing was then thought too much. But men are apt, I know not how, to be more liberal in fear, than gratefull in ſucceſs. When* D. Brutus *was delivered from the Siege* [18] ; *a day of all others the moſt joyous to the City, and which happened alſo to be his birth-day, I decreed, that his name ſhould be aſcribed for ever to that day in the public* Kalendars. *In which I followed the example of our Anceſtors, who paid the ſame honor to a woman,* Larentia [19] ; *at whoſe altar you Prieſts perform ſacred rites in the* Velabrum [20]. *By giving this to* D. Brutus, *my deſign was,*

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[15] *Philippus* was his Father-in-law. See Lett. 15. Not. 17.

[16] *Servius Sulpicius,* a Senator of the firſt dignity, who died upon an Embaſſy from the Senate to *Antony*. See his character at large in Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 361.

[17] *P. Servilius,* ſee Lett. 3. Note 6.

[18] From the Siege of *Modena*, by the defeat of *Antony*.

[19] The old writers give various accounts of the hiſtory of this *Larentia* ; and of the origin of the rites, which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that ſhe was *Romulus*'s Nurſe ; and left ſome conſiderable lands at her death to the people of *Rome* ; and that *Romulus*, out of piety to her memory, appointed *a yearly Feſtival and Sacrifice* to be celebrated at her Sepulcher. A. Gell. 6. 7. Macrob. Sat. 1. 10.

[20] *Velabrum* was a Street, or Square in Old *Rome*, where the *Forum Boarium*, and *Temple of Janus* ſtood. Marlian. Rom. Topogr. l. 4. c. 4.

notam eſſe in faſtis gratiſſimæ victoriæ ſempiternam volebam: atqui illo die cognovi paullo plures in ſenatu malevolos eſſe quàm gratos. Eos per ipſos dies effudi (ſi ita vis) honores in mortuos Hirtium & Panſam; Aquilam etiam: quod quis reprehendit, niſi qui, depoſito metu, præteriti periculi fuerit oblitus? Accedebat ad beneficii memoriam gratam ratio illa, quæ etiam poſteris eſſet ſalutaris. Exſtare enim volebam in crudeliſſimos hoſtes monumenta odii publici ſempiterna. Suſpicor illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus, optimis illis quidem viris, ſed in republica rudibus, non probatur; quòd, ut ovanti introire Cæſari lice-

to fix in the Kalendars *a perpetual memorial of a moſt acceptable victory. But I perceived on that day, that there was more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the Senate. During theſe ſame days, I poured out honors (ſince you will have it ſo) on the deceaſed,* Hirtius, *and* Panſa, *and* Aquila *alſo* [21]*: and who can find fault with it, but thoſe, who when fear is once over, forget their paſt danger? But beſides the gratefull remembrance of ſervices, there was a view in it that reached to poſterity: for I was deſirous, that there ſhould remain an eternal monument of the public hatred to our moſt cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt, which does not pleaſe you; for it does not pleaſe your people here; who, though excellent men, have but little experience in public affairs; that I decreed an* Ovation *to* Cæſar [22]*: but for*

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[21] He decreed a Thankſgiving of 50 *days*, with the title of *Emperor*, to the two Conſuls, after the firſt battel; while they were both ſuppoſed to be living; as we may ſee from his *14th Philippic*; but there is no account, in any part of his writings, of the honors, which he decreed to them after their death; nor to *Pontius Aquila*; one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, who was killed at the ſame time: to whom however, as *Dio* tells us, *a Statue* was decreed. l. 46. 317.

[22] An *Ovation* was a petty, or *pedeſtrian Triumph*, as the Greek writers call it: in which the General, inſtead of being introduced in a Chariot, marched on foot with his army, through the City to the *Capitol*, crowned with *Myrtle*, inſtead of *Laurel*, which was peculiar to *the Triumph*. It was decreed uſually, in the place of a Triumph, where the war was leſs formidable and dangerous, and the victory conſequently of leſs importance: or, as in the preſent caſe, where it was not over a foreign or proper enemy. Thus *M. Craſſus* received the ſame honor, for putting an end to the ſervile war in *Italy*. *See Life of Cic.* v. 1. p. 69.

ret, decreverim. Ego autem (ſed erro fortaſſe; nec tamen is ſum, ut mea me maximè delectent) nihil mihi videor hoc bello ſenſiſſe prudentius. Cur autem ita ſit, aperiendum non eſt; ne magis videar providus fuiſſe quàm gratus: hoc ipſum nimium: quare alia videamus. D. Bruto decrevi honores; decrevi L. Planco. Præclara illa quidem ingenia, quæ gloria invitantur: ſed ſenatus etiam ſapiens, qui, qua quemque re putat, modò honeſta, ad rempublicam juvandam poſſe adduci, hac utitur. At in Lepido reprehendimur; cui cum ſtatuam in roſtris ſtatuiſſemus, iidem illam evertimus. Nos illum honore ſtuduimus à furore revocare: vicit amentia leviſſimi hominis noſtram prudentiam: nec tamen tantum in ſtatuenda Lepidi ſtatua factum eſt mali, quantum in ever-

my part, (though I may perhaps be miſtaken: nor am I yet one of thoſe, who are the moſt pleaſed always with what is their own:) I cannot but think, that I have adviſed nothing more prudent during this war. Why it is ſo, is not proper to be explaned; leſt I be thought, to have been more provident in it, than grateful [23]. *But even this is too much: let us paſs therefore to other things. I decreed honors to* D. Brutus; *decreed them to* Plancus. *They muſt be men of great ſouls, who are attracted by glory: but the Senate alſo is certainly wiſe, in trying every art, that is honeſt, by which any one can be engaged to the ſervice of the Republic. But I am blamed in the caſe of* Lepidus: *to whom after I had raiſed* a Statue in the Roſtra, *I preſently threw it down again. My view was, to reclame him by that honor from deſperate meaſures; but the madneſs of an inconſtant man got the better of my prudence: nor was there yet ſo much harm in erecting, as good in demoliſhing the Sta-*

[23] By this decree of an *Ovation*, *Cicero* meant, not onely to confer a proper honor on *Octavias*, agreeably to the uſage of the Republic; but, as he here intimates, had a farther view in it, which ſeems to be this; that whenever *Octavius* ſhould take the benefit of it, his command would ceaſe of courſe, by his very entrance into the City, and his army conſequently might be transfered to another General: for this had ever been the practice of the Republic. But in times of ſuch confuſion, neither law nor cuſtom were regarded by any, who had the power to over-rule them.

tenda, boni. Satis multa de honoribus: nunc de pœna pauca ſunt dicenda. Intellexi enim ex tuis ſæpe litteris; te in iis, quos bello deviciſti, clementiam tuam velle laudari. Exiſtimo equidem nihil à te, niſi ſapienter. Sed ſceleris pœnam prætermittere, (id enim eſt quod vocatur ignoſcere) etiam ſi in cæteris rebus tolerabile eſt, in hoc bello pernicioſum puto. Nullum enim bellum civile fuit in noſtra republica omnium, quæ memoria mea fuerunt, in quo bello non, utracumque pars viciſſet, tamen aliqua forma eſſet futura reipublicæ: hoc bello victores quam rempublicam ſimus habituri, non facilè affirmarim; victis certe nulla unquam erit. Dixi igi-

tue [24]. *But I have ſaid enough concerning honors, and muſt ſay a word or two about puniſhments; for I have often obſerved from your letters, that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by your treatment of thoſe, whom you have conquered in war* [25]. *I can imagine nothing to be done by you, but what is wiſely done. But to omit the puniſhment of wickedneſs, which we call pardoning, though it may be tolerable in other caſes, I take to be pernicious in this war. For of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there was not one, in which, what ſide ſoever got the better, there would not have remained ſome form of a Commonwealth: Yet in this, what ſort of a Republic we are like to have, if we conquer, I would not eaſily affirm; but if we are conquered, we are ſure to have none* [26]. *My votes therefore*

tur

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[24] The *gilt equeſtrian Statue,* which *Cicero* had decreed to *Lepidus,* [Lett. 17. Not. 4.] was ordered to be demoliſhed moſt probably at the time, when he was declared an enemy by the Senate, on the 30*th of June:* [Ep. Fam. 12. 10.] the reference therefore here made to it, ſhews, that this letter could not be written till *July*.

[25] This refers to his manner of treating *C. Antonius,* ſo often mentioned above. Lett. 5, 9, 14, &c.

[26] *Cicero* reckons up *four civil wars,* beſides the preſent, which had happened in his memory; *viz.* of *Sylla* with *Marius* and *Sulpicius:* of *Cinna* with *Octavius*; of *Sylla* again, with *young Marius* and *Carbo*; and of *Cæſar* with *Pompey*. Each of which aroſe, he ſays, from a contention onely of oppoſite parties in the State, and had a plauſible pretext for taking arms; to defend their ſeveral rights and honors in the City;

and

tur ſententias in Antonium, dixi in Lepidum ſeveras: neque tam ulciſcendi cauſa, quàm ut & in præſens ſceleratos cives timore ab impugnanda patria deterrerem; & in poſterum, documentum ſtatuerem, nequis talem amentiam vellet imitari: quamquam hæc quidem ſententia, non magis mea fuit, quàm omnium: in qua videtur illud eſſe crudele; quòd ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, pœna pervenit. Sed id & antiquum eſt, & omnium civitatum: ſiquidem etiam Themiſtoclis liberi eguerunt: &, ſi judicio damnatos eadem pœna ſequitur cives, qui potuimus leniores eſſe in hoſtes? Quid autem queri poteſt quiſquam de me, qui ſi viciſſet, acerbio-

were ſevere againſt Antony; *ſevere againſt* Lepidus; *not from any ſpirit of revenge; but to deter wicked Citizens at the preſent, from making war againſt their country; and to leave an example to poſterity, that none hereafter might be diſpoſed to imitate ſuch raſhneſs. Yet this very vote was not more mine, than it was every body's: in which there ſeems, I own, to be ſomething cruel, that the puniſhment ſhould reach to children, who have done nothing to deſerve it: but the conſtitution is both ancient, and of all Cities: for even* Themiſtocles's *children were reduced to want* [27]*: and ſince the ſame puniſhment falls upon Citizens, condemned of public crimes, how was it poſſible for us to be more gentle towards enemies? but what reaſon can any man have to complain of me, who, if he had conquered, muſt needs confeſs, that*

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and to prevent the unworthy from getting the aſcendant: whereas the preſent war with *M. Antony* was a contention of force and power, againſt an union of all parties; where nothing was aimed at or pretended, but an avowed *Tyranny*, and the utter overthrow of the Republic. Philip. 8. 2.

[27] *Themiſtocles* was condemned of treaſon, in his abſence, by the *Athenians*, and his eſtate confiſcated. But his Sons *Neocles* and *Demophilus* are ſaid to have returned afterwards privately to *Athens*, where they continued for ſome time incognito; till upon the occaſion of certain funeral games, *Neocles* won the prize in the long courſe, and his Brother in the *Stadium* or ſhort courſe; for which they were both publicly crowned. Yet as ſoon as they came to be known, they had like to have been ſtoned to death upon the ſpot by their Father's enemies. *Plato* mentions a third Son, called *Diophantus*, as a perfect maſter of all the arts and exerciſes, that were eſteemed the accompliſhments of a Gentleman. Vid. Cœlium Rhodig. Antiquar. lect. l. 14. c. 12.

rem ſe in me futurum fuiſſe confiteatur neceſſe eſt? Habes rationem mearum ſententiarum, de hoc genere duntaxat honoris & pœnæ: nam de cæteris rebus quid ſenſerim, quidque cenſuerim, audiſſe te arbitror. Sed hæc quidem non ita neceſſaria: illud valde neceſſarium, Brute, te in Italiam cum exercitu venire quàm primum: ſumma eſt exſpectatio tui: quod ſi Italiam attigeris, ad te concurſus fiet omnium. Sive enim vicerimus; (qui quidem pulcherrimè viceramus, niſi Lepidus perdere omnia, & perire ipſe cum ſuis concupiviſſet) tua nobis auctoritate opus eſt ad collocandum aliquem civitatis ſtatum: ſive etiam nunc certamen reliquum eſt, maxima ſpes eſt cum in auctoritate tua, tum in exercitus tui viribus. Sed propera, per deos: ſcis enim, quantum ſit in temporibus, quantum in celeritate. Sororis tuæ filiis quàm diligenter conſulam; ſpero te ex matris & ex ſororis litteris cogniturum:

he would have treated me even with greater ſeverity? You have now the grounds of my opinions, as far as they relate to the caſe of rewards and puniſhments: for as to other points, you have heard, I ſuppoſe, what my ſentiments, and votes have been. But the mention of theſe is not ſo neceſſary: what I am going to mention, Brutus, *is greatly ſo; that you come with your army to* Italy, *as ſoon as poſſible. There is the utmoſt expectation of you. Whenever you ſet foot in* Italy, *all the world will run to you. For whether it be our lot to conquer, (as we had done already moſt finely, if* Lepidus *had not been deſirous to overturn all, and to periſh himſelf with his friends) there will be a great want of your authority, in order to ſettle ſome ſtate of a City amongſt us: or if there be any danger or ſtruggle ſtill behind, our greateſt hope is in your authority, as well as in the ſtrength of your army. But haſten to us, for God's ſake: for you know, how much depends on opportunity; how much on diſpatch. What diligence I ſhall uſe in the care of your Siſter's children, you will be informed, I hope, by the letters of your Mother and*

qua in cauſa majorem habeo rationem tuæ voluntatis, quæ mihi cariſſima eſt, quàm, ut quibuſdam videor, conſtantiæ meæ: ſed ego nulla in re malo quàm te amando conſtans & eſſe & videri.

Siſter: in whoſe cauſe I have more regard to your will, which is ever moſt dear to me, than as ſome think, to my own conſtancy [28]. *But it is my deſire, both to be, and to appear conſtant, in nothing ſo much, as in loving you.*

EPISTOLA XXII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

PArticulam litterarum tuarum, quas miſiſti Octavio, legi, miſſam ab Attico mihi. Studium tuum curaque de ſalute mea nulla me nova voluptate affecit. Non ſolum enim uſitatum, ſed etiam quotidianum eſt, aliquid audire

EPIST. XXII.

BRUTUS *to* CICERO.

I *Have read a ſmall part of your letter, which you ſent to* Octavius, *tranſmitted to me by* Atticus [1]. *Your zeal and concern for my ſafety gave me no new pleaſure: for it is not onely common, but our dayly news, to hear ſomething, which you have ſaid or done*

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[28] We ſee from this paſſage, what a great regard *Cicero* paid, even againſt his own judgement, to *Brutus*'s remonſtrance, on the behalf of *Lepidus*'s children; ſince he was now contriving ſome method to exempt them from the legal effects of the decree of the Senate, ſo as to prevent their being involved in the ruin of their father's fortunes. See Lett. 17, 18.

[1] When *Cicero*, ſoon after the victory of *Modena*, ſaw their affairs taking a turn, quite contrary to his hopes: and that *Octavius* eſpecially, by his demand of the Conſulate, as well as by every other ſtep, ſeemed to be entring into meaſures, to oppreſs the Republic, and to revenge his Uncle's death. He took occaſion, as we may imagine, in ſtrong and pathetic terms, to diſſuade him from thoſe counſils; and to exhort him to *a reconciliation with Brutus*; and to the obſervance of that *amneſty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of their future peace. This letter was communicated by him to *Atticus*; who highly approving it, and not doubting, but that *Brutus* would be pleaſed with it too, ſent *Brutus* a copy of that part, which related to him, and which gave occaſion to the preſent expoſtulation from him.

de te, quod pro noſtra dignitate fideliter atque honorificè dixeris aut feceris. At dolore, quantum animo maximum capere poſſum, eadem illa pars epiſtolæ, ſcriptæ ad Octavium de nobis, affecit. Sic enim illi gratias agis de republica; tam ſuppliciter ac demiſſe; (quid ſcribam? pudet conditionis ac fortunæ; ſed tamen ſcribendum eſt. Commendas noſtram ſalutem illi, quæ morte qua non pernicioſior?) ut prorſus præ te feras, non ſublatam dominationem, ſed dominum commutatum eſſe. Verba tua recognoſce; & aude negare, ſervientis adverſus regem iſtas eſſe preces. Unum ais eſſe, quod ab eo poſtuletur & exſpectetur: ut eos cives, de quibus viri boni populuſque Romanus bene exiſtimet, ſalvos velit. Quid ſi nolit? non erimus? Atqui, non eſſe, quàm eſſe per illum, præſtat. Ego, medius fidius, non exiſtimo tam omnes deos averſos eſſe à ſalute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus ſit pro ſa-

with your uſual fidelity, in the ſupport of my honor and dignity. Yet that ſame part of your letter, written to Octavius *concerning me, affected me with the moſt ſenſible grief, that my mind is capable of receiving. For you compliment him ſo highly for his ſervices to the Republic; in a ſtrain ſo ſuppliant and abject; that—what ſhall I ſay? I am aſhamed of the condition and fortune, to which we are reduced—yet it muſt be ſaid—you recommend my ſafety to him; (to which what death is not preferable?) and plainly ſhew, that our ſervitude is not yet aboliſhed, but our maſter onely changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, if you dare, to be the prayers of a ſlave to his King.* There is one thing, *you ſay*, which is required and expected from him, that he will allow thoſe Citizens to live in ſafety, of whom all honeſt men, and the people of Rome think well. *But what, if he will not allow it? Shall we be the leſs ſafe for that? It is better not to be ſafe, than to be made ſafe by him. For my part, I can never think all the Gods ſo averſe to the ſafety of the Roman people, that* Octavius *muſt be entreated*

lute cujuſquam civis; non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certe decet, adverſus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum ſit. Hoc tu, Cicero, poſſe fateris Octavium, & illi amicus es? aut, ſi me carum habes, vis Romæ videri; cum, ut ibi eſſe poſſem, commendandus puero illi fuerim? Cui quid agis gratias, ſi, ut nos ſalvos eſſe velit & patiatur, rogandum putas? An hoc pro beneficio eſt habendum, quòd ſe, quàm Antonium, eſſe maluerit, à quo iſta petenda eſſent? Vindici quidem alienæ dominationis, non vicario, ecquis ſupplicat, ut optime meritis de republica liceat eſſe ſalvis? Iſta verò imbecillitas & deſperatio, cujus culpa non magis in te reſidet quam in omnibus aliis, & Cæſarem in cupiditatem regni impulit, & Antonio poſt interitum illius perſuaſit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur: & nunc puerum iſtum

for the life of any one Citizen; *I will not ſay, for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleaſure, to talk thus magnificently*; *and it becomes me ſurely to thoſe, who know not either what to fear for any one, or what to aſk of any one. Can you,* Cicero, *allow* Octavius *to have this power, and be ſtill a friend to him? Or if you have any value for me, would you wiſh to ſee me at* Rome, *when I muſt firſt be recommended to the boy, that he would permit me to be there? What reaſon have you to thank him, if you think it neceſſary to beg of him, that he would grant and ſuffer us to live in ſafety? Or is it to be reckoned a kindneſs, that he chuſes to ſee himſelf, rather than* Antony, *in the condition, to have ſuch petitions addreſſed to him? One may ſupplicate indeed the ſucceſſor, but never the avenger of another's Tyranny*; *that thoſe, who have deſerved well of the Republic, may be ſafe. It was this weakneſs and deſpair, not more blameable indeed in you, than in all, which firſt puſhed on* Cæſar *to the ambition of reigning*; *and after his death, determined* Antony *to attempt to ſeize his place*; *and has now raiſed this boy ſo high,*

extulit, ut tu judicares precibus eſſe impetrandam ſalutem talibus viris; miſericordiaque unius, vix etiam nunc viri, tutos fore nos; haud ulla alia re. Quòd ſi Romanos nos eſſe meminiſſemus, non audaciùs dominari cuperent poſtremi homines, quàm id nos prohiberemus: neque magis irritatus eſſet Antonius regno Cæſaris, quàm ob ejuſdem mortem deterritus. Tu quidem conſularis & tantorum ſcelerum vindex, (quibus oppreſſis vereor ne in breve tempus dilata ſit abs te pernicies) qui potes intueri quæ geſſeris, ſimul & iſta vel probare, vel ita demiſſe ac facilè pati, ut probantis ſpeciem habeas? Quod autem tibi cum Antonio privatum odium? nempe quia poſtulabat hæc; ſalutem ab ſe peti; precariam nos incolumitatem habere, à quibus ipſe libertatem accepiſſet; eſſe arbitrium ſuum de republica. Quærenda eſſe arma putaſti, quibus dominari prohiberetur; ſcilicet, ut illo prohibito, rogaremus alterum,

that you judge it neceſſary, to addreſs your prayers to him, for the preſervation of men of our rank; and that we can be ſaved onely by the mercy of one, ſcarce yet a man; and by no other means. But if we had remembered ourſelves to be Romans, theſe moſt infamous men would not be more daring, to graſp at dominion, than we, to repell it: nor would Antony *be more encouraged by* Cæſar's *reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a Conſular, and the avenger of ſo many treaſons, (by ſuppreſſing which, you have but poſtponed our ruin, I fear, for a little time) reflect on what you have done, and yet approve theſe things; or bear them ſo tamely, as to ſeem at leaſt to approve them? For what particular hatred had you to* Antony? *No other; but becauſe he aſſumed all this to himſelf; that our lives ſhould be begged of him; our ſafety be precarious, from whom he had received his liberty; and the Republic depend upon his will and pleaſure. You thought it neceſſary to take up arms, to prevent him from tyrannizing over us: but was it your intent, that by pre-*

qui ſe in ejus locum reponi pateretur, an ut eſſet ſui juris ac mancipii reſpublica? niſi fortè non de ſervitute, ſed de conditione ſerviendi recuſatum eſt à nobis. Atqui non ſolum bono domino potuimus Antonio tolerare noſtram fortunam; ſed etiam beneficiis atque honoribus, ut participes, frui quantis vellemus: quid enim negaret iis, quorum patientiam videret maximum ſuæ dominationis præſidium eſſe? Sed nihil tanti fuit, quo venderemus fidem noſtram & libertatem. Hic ipſe puer, quem Cæſaris nomen incitare videtur in Cæſaris interfectores, quanti æſtimet (ſi ſit commercio locus) poſſe, nobis auctoribus, tantum, quantum profectò poterit; quoniam vivere, & pecunias habere & dici conſulares volumus? ceterùm nequicquam perierit ille: cujus interitu quid gaviſi ſumus; ſi mortuo nihilo minùs ſervituri eramus? Nulla cura adhibeatur. Sed mihi priùs omnia dii deæque eripuerint, quàm illud

venting him, we might ſue to another, who would ſuffer himſelf to be advanced into his place; or that the Republic might be free and miſtreſs of itſelf? As if our quarrel was not perhaps to ſlavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might have had, not onely an eaſy maſter in Antony, *if we would have been content with that fortune, but whatever ſhare with him we pleaſed, of favors and honors. For what could he deny to thoſe, whoſe patience, he ſaw, was the beſt ſupport of his government? But nothing was of ſuch value to us, that we would ſell our faith and liberty for it. Would not this very boy, whom the name of* Cæſar *ſeems to incite againſt the deſtroyers of* Cæſar, *think it worth any price, if there was room to traffic with him, to be enabled by our help, to maintain all that power, which he now enjoys? Since we have a mind to live, and to be rich, and to be Conſulars? But then* Cæſar *muſt have periſhed in vain. For what reaſon had we to rejoice at his death; if after it, we were ſtill to continue ſlaves? Let other people be as indolent, as they pleaſe: but as for me, may the Gods and God-*

judicium, quo non modo heredi ejus, quem occidi, non conceſſerim, quod in illo non tuli, ſed ne patri quidem meo, ſi reviviſcat ; ut patiente me, plus legibus ac ſenatu poſſit. An hoc tibi perſuaſum eſt, fore cæteros ab eo liberos, quo invito nobis in iſta civitate locus non ſit ? Quî porrò id, quod petis, fieri poteſt, ut impetres ? Rogas enim, velit nos ſalvos eſſe. Videmur ergo tibi ſalutem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus ? quam, ſi prius dimittimus dignitatem & libertatem, quî poſſumus accipere? An tu Romæ habitare, id putas incolumem eſſe ? Res non locus oportet præſtet iſtuc mihi : neque incolumis fui Cæſare vivo, niſi poſtquam illud conſcivi facinus : neque uſquam exſul eſſe poſſum, dum ſervire & pati contumelias, pejus odero malis omnibus aliis. Nonne hoc eſt in eaſdem tenebras recidiſſe, quum ab eo, qui tyranni nomen aſcivit ſibi, (cum in Græ-

deſſes deprive me ſooner of every thing, than the reſolution, of not allowing to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man himſelf; nor would ſuffer even in my Father, were he living; to have more power, than the laws and the Senate. *How can you imagine, that the reſt of you can ever be free under him, without whoſe leave there is no place for us in that City? Or how is it poſſible for you after all, to obtain what you aſk? You beg,* that he would allow us to be ſafe. *Shall we then receive ſafety, think you, when we have received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we firſt part with our honor and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at* Rome, *is to be ſafe? It is the thing, and not the place, which muſt ſecure that to me: for I was never ſafe, while* Cæſar *lived; till I had reſolved with myſelf upon that attempt: nor can I in any place live in exil, as long as I hate ſlavery and inſults above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into the ſame ſtate of darkneſs; when he, who has taken upon him the name of the Tyrant, (though in the Cities of* Greece,

cis civitatibus liberi tyrannorum, oppreſſis illis, eodem ſupplicio afficiantur) petitur, ut vindices atque oppreſſores dominationis ſalvi ſint? Hanc ego civitatem videre velim, aut putem ullam, quæ ne traditam quidem atque inculcatam libertatem recipere poſſit? Pluſque timeat in puero nomen ſublati regis, quàm confidat ſibi; cum illum ipſum, qui maximas opes habuerit, paucorum virtute ſublatum videat? Me vero poſthac ne commendaveris Cæſari tuo: ne te quidem ipſum, ſi me audies. Valdè carè æſtimas tot annos, quot iſta ætas recipit, ſi propter eam cauſam puero iſti ſupplicaturus es. Deinde quod pulcherrimè feciſti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur a laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis. Nam ſi Octavius tibi placet, à quo de noſtra ſalute

when the Tyrants are deſtroyed, their children alſo periſh with them) [2] *muſt be entreated, that the avengers of Tyranny may be ſafe? Can I ever wiſh to ſee that City, or think it a City, which has not the power even to accept liberty, when offered, and even forced upon it; but has more dread of the name of their late King, in the perſon of a boy, than confidence in itſelf; though it has ſeen that very King taken off, in the utmoſt heigth of power, by the virtue of a few? Do not recommend me therefore any more to your* Cæſar; *nor yourſelf indeed, if you will hearken to me. You ſet a very high value on the few years, which remain to you at that age, if for the ſake of them, you can ſupplicate that boy. But take care after all, leſt what you have done, and are doing ſo laudably againſt* Antony, *inſtead of being applauded, as the effect of a great mind, be not charged to the account of your fear. For if you are pleaſed with* Octavius *ſo, as to petition him for our Safety, you*

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[2] *Brutus* puts *Cicero* here in mind, that *Octavius*, the adopted Son of *Cæſar*, inſtead of meriting the honors, which had been decreed to him, deſerved to have been killed with his father, according to the uſage of ancient *Greece*: yet we have ſeen above, how differently he thought in the caſe of *Lepidus*'s children, and how anxious he was, to preſerve them from ſuffering any diminution even of their fortunes, on the account of their Father's treaſon. See Lett. 18.

petendum ſit; non dominum fugiſſe, ſed amiciorem dominum quæſiſſe videberis. Quem quod laudas ob ea, quæ adhuc fecit, plane probo: ſunt enim laudanda; ſi modo contra alienam potentiam, non pro ſua ſuſcepit eas actiones. Cum vero judicas, tantum illi non modo licere, ſed etiam a te ipſo tribuendum eſſe, ut rogandus ſit, ne nolit eſſe nos ſalvos; nimium magnam mercedem ſtatuis. Id enim ipſum illi largiris, quod per illum habere videbatur reſpublica. Neque hoc tibi in mentem venit; ſi Octavius ullis dignus ſit honoribus, quia cum Antonio bellum gerat; iis, qui illud malum exciderint, cujus iſtæ reliquiæ ſunt, nihil, quo expleri poſſit eorum meritum, tributurum unquam populum Romanum, ſi omnia ſimul congeſſerit. At vide, quanto diligentius homines metuant, quam meminerint, quia Antonius vivat, atque in armis ſit. De Cæſare verò, quod fieri potuit ac debuit, tranſactum

will be thought, not to have diſliked a maſter, but to have wanted a more friendly one. As to your praiſing him, for the things, that he has hitherto done, I intirely approve it; for they deſerve to be praiſed; provided that he undertook them, to repel other men's power; not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him, not onely to have this power, but that you yourſelf ought to ſubmit to it ſo far, as to entreat him, that he would not deſtroy us; you pay him too great a recompenſe: for you aſcribe that very thing to him, which the Republic ſeemed to enjoy through him: nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if Octavius *be worthy of any honors, becauſe he wages war with* Antony; *that thoſe, who extirpated the very evil, of which theſe are but the reliques, can never be ſufficiently requited by the* Roman *people; though they were to heap upon them every thing, that they could beſtow. But ſee how much ſtronger people's fears are than their memories, becauſe* Antony *ſtill lives, and is in arms. But as to* Cæſar, *all that could and* eſt: neque jam revocari in integrum poteſt. Octavius is eſt, qui quid de nobis judicaturus ſit, exſpectet populus Romanus? Nos hi ſumus, de quorum ſalute unus homo rogandus videatur? Ego verò, ut iſtuc revertar, is ſum, qui non modò non ſupplicem, ſed etiam coerceam poſtulantes, ut ſibi ſupplicetur. Aut longè a ſervientibus abero, ibique eſſe judicabo Romam, ubicumque liberum eſſe licebit: ac veſtri miſerebor; quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit. Mihi quidem ita beatus eſſe videbor, ſi modò conſtanter ac perpetuò placebit hoc conſilium, ut relatam putem gratiam pietati meæ. Quid enim eſt melius, quam memoria recte factorum, & libertate contentum negligere humana? Sed certe non ſuccumbam ſuccumbentibus, nec vincar ab iis qui ſe vinci volunt: experiarque & tentabo omnia, neque deſiſtam abſtrahere a ſervitio

ought to be done, is paſt and cannot be recalled. Is Octavius *then a perſon of ſuch importance, that the people of* Rome *are to expect from him, what he will determine upon us? Or are we of ſo little, that any ſingle man is to be entreated for our ſafety? As for me, may I never return to you, if ever I either ſupplicate any man, or do not chaſtiſe thoſe, who require ſuch ſupplications to be made to them: or I will remove to a diſtance from all ſuch, as can be ſlaves; and fancy every place to be* Rome, *wherever I find it in my power to live free; and ſhall pity you, whoſe fond deſire of life, neither age, nor honors, nor the example of other men's virtue has been able to moderate. For my part, I ſhall ever think myſelf happy, as long as I continue to be pleaſed with the perſuaſion, that my piety has been fully requited. For what can be happier, than for a man, conſcious of virtuous acts, and content with liberty, to deſpiſe all human affairs? but I will certainly never yield to thoſe, who are fond of yielding; or be conquered by thoſe, who are willing to be conquered themſelves; but will firſt try and attempt every thing; nor ever deſiſt from dragging our City*

fuerit,

civitatem noſtram. Si ſecuta fuerit, quæ debet, fortuna; gaudebimus omnes: ſin minus; ego tamen gaudebo. Quibus enim potius hæc vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur, quàm iis, quæ pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos? Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor; ne defatigere, neu diffidas. Semper in præſentibus malis prohibendis, futura quoque, niſi ante ſit occurſum, explores, ne ſe inſinuent. Fortem & liberum animum, quo & conſul & nunc conſularis rempublicam vindicaſti, ſine conſtantia & æquabilitate nullum eſſe putaris. Fateor enim duriorem eſſe conditionem ſpectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ. Benefacta pro debitis exigimus. Siquæ aliter eveniunt; ut decepti ab his, infeſto animo reprehendimus. Itaque reſiſtere An-

out of ſlavery. If ſuch fortune attend me, as I ought to have; we ſhall all rejoice; if not; I ſhall rejoice ſtill myſelf. For how can this life be ſpent better, than in acts and thoughts, which tend to make my fellow Citizens free? I beg and beſeech you, Cicero, *not to deſert the cauſe, through wearineſs or diffidence. In repelling preſent evils, have your eye always on the future; leſt they inſinuate themſelves, before you are aware. Conſider, that the fortitude and bravery, with which you ſaved the Republic when Conſul, and now again when a Conſular, are nothing without conſtancy and equability. The caſe of tried virtue, I confeſs, is harder than of untried. We require ſervices from it, as debts. If in any inſtance it happens to diſappoint us, we blame with reſentment, as if we had been deceived by it* [3]. *Wherefore, for* Cicero *to act*

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[3] This maxim is verified by this very letter: wherein *Brutus* diſguſted by the miſcarriage of ſome of *Cicero*'s meaſures, though projected with the beſt intention and the greateſt prudence, and overlooking all his paſt ſervices, and glorious ſtruggles for the ſupport of the Republic, chides him with an air of ſuperiority, wholly indecent towards a perſon of his age and eminent wiſdom; as I have remarked elſewhere more at large; where I have compared the merit alſo of *Cicero*'s conduct with that of *Brutus*'s, from the time of *Cæſar*'s death; as well as the different ſpirit of the two preceding letters. See Life of Cicero vol. 2. p. 471, 487.

tonio Ciceronem, etſi magna laude dignum eſt, tamen quia ille conſul hunc conſularem merito præſtare videtur, nemo admiratur. Idem Cicero ſi flexerit adverſus alios judicium ſuum, quod tanta firmitate ac magnitudine direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modo reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit ſibi, ſed etiam præterita evaneſcere coget. Nihil enim per ſe amplum eſt, niſi in quo judicii ratio exſtat. Quia neminem magis decet, quam te, rempublicam amare, libertatiſque defenſorem eſſe, vel ingenio & rebus geſtis; vel ſtudio atque efflagitatione omnium. Quare non Octavius eſt rogandus, ut velit nos ſalvos eſſe: magis tu te exſuſcita; ut eam civitatem, in qua maxima geſſiſti, liberam atque honeſtam fore putes, ſi modo ſint populo duces ad reſiſtendum improborum conſiliis.

againſt Antony, *though it be a part highly commendable, yet becauſe ſuch a Conſul ſeems of courſe, to promiſe ſuch a Conſular, no body wonders at it: but if the ſame* Cicero, *with reſpect to others, ſhould waver at laſt in that reſolution, which he has exerted with ſuch firmneſs and greatneſs of mind in repelling* Antony, *he would deprive himſelf, not only of the hopes of all future glory, but forfeit even that which is paſt. For nothing is great in itſelf, but what flows from the reſult of our judgement: nor does it become any man more than you, to love the Republic, and to be the defender of liberty; on the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or the wiſhes and expectation of all men.* Octavius *therefore muſt not be entreated, to ſuffer us tol ive in ſafety. Do you rather rouſe yourſelf ſo far, as to think that City, in which you have acted the nobleſt part, to be ever free and floriſhing, as long as there are leaders ſtill to the people, prepared to reſiſt the deſigns of Traitors.*

EPISTOLA XXIII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CUm ſæpe te litteris hortatus eſſem, ut quàm primùm reipublicæ ſubvenires, in Italiamque exercitum adduceres, neque id arbitrarer dubitare tuos neceſſarios; rogatus ſum à prudentiſſima & diligentiſſima fœmina, matre tua, cujus omnes curæ ad te referuntur, & in te conſumuntur; ut venirem ad ſe a. d. IIX. kal. Sext. quod ego, ut debui, ſine mora feci. Cum autem veniſſem, Caſca aderat, & Labeo, & Scaptius. At illa retulit; quæſivitque, quidnam mihi videretur; arceſſeremuſne te, atque id tibi conducere putare-

EPIST. XXIII.

CICERO *to* BRUTUS.

AFter I had often exhorted you by letters [1], *to come, as ſoon as poſſible, to the relief of the Republic, and bring your army into* Italy; *and never imagined, that your own people had any ſcruples about it; I was deſired by that moſt prudent and diligent woman, your mother* [2], *all whoſe cares are fixed and employed on you, that I would come to her on the* 25th of July; *which I did, as I ought, without delay. When I came;* Caſca, Labeo *and* Scaptius *were with her* [3]. *She preſently entered into the affair, and aſked, what my opinion was; whether we ſhould call you home immediately, and whether I took that to be the moſt for your ſervice; or*

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[1] Theſe exhortations may be found in every letter, after the union of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, on the *29th of May*.

[2] *Brutus*'s mother, *Servilia*, had been miſtreſs to *Cæſar*; greatly beloved and entruſted by him; and poſſeſſed, by his gift, the confiſcated eſtate of *Pontius Aquila*, a zealous *Pompeian*; who was afterwards an accomplice with her ſon, in killing *Cæſar*. Yet after *Cæſar*'s death, ſhe bore a principal part and had the chief influence in all her ſon's counſils, to the diſguſt of *Cicero:* who ſeems to have diſtruſted, as well as diſliked her management: [Ep. ad Att. 15. 10.] though out of civility to *Brutus*, he mentions her in this letter with great reſpect. See her character in Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 296.

[3] Of *Caſca*; ſee lett. 15. not. 3: of *Labeo*; lett. 5. not. 15. of *Scaptius*; 4. not. 4.

mus; an tardare & commorari te melius eſſet. Reſpondi id, quod ſentiebam & dignitati & exiſtimationi tuæ maximè conducere; te primo quoque tempore ferre præſidium labenti & inclinatæ pene reipublicæ. Quid enim abeſſe cenſes mali in eo bello, in quo victores exercitus fugientem hoſtem perſequi noluerunt? & in quo incolumis imperator, honoribus ampliſſimis fortuniſque maximis, conjuge, liberis, vobis affinibus ornatus, bellum reipublicæ indixerit? Quid dicam in tanto ſenatus populique conſenſu, cùm tantum reſideat intra muros mali? Maximo autem, cùm hæc ſcribebam, afficiebar dolore; quod cùm me pro adoleſcentulo ac penè puero reſpublica accepiſſet vadem, vix videbar, quod promiſeram, præſtare poſſe. Eſt autem gravior & difficilior

thought it better for you to wait, and continue ſtill abroad. I anſwered, what I believed to be moſt conducive to your dignity and reputation, that, without loſs of Time, you ſhould bring preſent help to the tottering and almoſt falling State. For what miſchief may not be expected, think you, from that war, where the conquering armies refuſed to purſue a flying enemy [4]? *Where a General unhurt, unprovoked; poſſeſſed of the higheſt honors, and the greateſt fortunes; with a wife, children, and near relation to you, has declared war againſt the Republic* [5]. *I need not add where in ſo great a concord of the Senate and the People, there reſides ſtill ſo much diſorder within our walls. But the greateſt grief, that I feel, while I am now writing, is, to reflect, that when the Republic had taken my word for* a Youth, *or rather a boy, I ſhall hardly have it in my power, to make good, what I promiſed for him* [6]. *For it is a thing of greater*

animi

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[4] This, as it is obſerved above, is to be applied chiefly to *Octavius*, and his army. See lett. 19. not. 5.

[5] *Lepidus*, whoſe wife was *Brutus*'s Siſter.

[6] He alludes to that declaration, which he made to the Senate, in his *5th Philippic*, after he had ſent *Octavius* with his army, to act againſt *Antony* before *Modena*; on which

occaanimi & ſententiæ, maximis præſertim in rebus, pro altero, quam pecuniæ, obligatio. Hæc enim ſolvi poteſt; & eſt rei familiaris jactura tolerabilis; reipublicæ quod ſpoponderis, quemadmodum ſolvas, niſi is dependi facile patitur, pro quo ſpoponderis? Quamquam & hunc (ut ſpero) tenebo multis repugnantibus. Videtur enim in eo eſſe indoles; ſed flexibilis ætas; multique ad depravandum parati: qui, ſplendore falſi honoris objecto, aciem boni ingenii præſtringi poſſe confidunt. Itaque ad reliquos hic quoque labor mihi acceſſit; ut omnes adhibeam machinas ad tenendum adoleſcentem; ne famam ſubeam temeritatis. Quamquam quæ temeritas eſt? Magis enim illum, pro qua ſpopondi, quam me ipſum ob-

moment and difficulty, to engage one's ſelf for the ſentiments and principles of another, eſpecially in affairs of the greateſt importance, than for money: For this may be paid, and the loſs itſelf be tolerable: But how can you pay, what you ſtand engaged for to the Republic, unleſs he, for whom you are engaged, will ſuffer it to be paid? yet I am ſtill in hopes to hold him, tho' many are plucking him from me: for his natural diſpoſition ſeems good, tho' his age be flexible [7], *and many at hand to corrupt him: who, by throwing in his way the ſplendor of falſe honor, think themſelves ſure of dazzling his good ſenſe and underſtanding* [8]. *Wherefore to my other labors, this new one is added, of ſetting all engines at work, to hold faſt the young man, leſt I incur the imputation of raſhneſs. Tho' what raſhneſs is it after all? for in truth, I bound him, for whom I engaged my word,*

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occaſion he ſays, *I will venture, Fathers, to pawn my credit for him to you, and to the people of Rome, and to the whole Republic: which as I am under no neceſſity of doing, ſo I ſhould not forwardly venture to do, for fear of incurring the dangerous imputation of raſhneſs, in an affair of the greateſt moment. Yet I promiſe you, Fathers, undertake, and give you my word, that C. Cæſar will always be ſuch a Citizen, as we ſee him at this day; ſuch an one, as we ought alſo to deſire, and wiſh him to be.* Phil. 5. 8.

[7] He was but 20 *years* old. Suet. Aug. c. 26.

[8] His flatterers were now urging him to the demand of the Conſulate, which, by the law and uſage of *Rome*, was incompatible with his age, and could be of no other uſe, but to give him the better opportunity of overturning the Republic.

ligavi. Nec vero pœnitere poteſt rempublicam, me pro eo ſpopondiſſe; qui fuit in rebus gerendis cum ſuo ingenio, tum mea promiſſione conſtantior. Maximus autem (niſi me forte fallit) in republica nodus eſt, inopia rei pecuniariæ: obdureſcunt enim magis quotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi: quod ex centeſima collatum impudenti cenſu locupletum, in duarum legionum præmiis omne conſumitur. Impendent autem infiniti ſumptus cum in hos exercitus, quibus nunc defendimur, tum vero in tuum: nam Caſſius noſter videtur poſſe ſatis ornatus veni-

more ſtrongly than myſelf. Nor has the Republic as yet any cauſe to repent, that I was his Sponſor: ſince he has hitherto been the more firm in acting for us; as well from his own temper, as for the ſake of my promiſe. The greateſt difficulty in the Republic, if I am not miſtaken, is the want of money: for the honeſt grow every day more and more averſe to the name of a tribute [9]*: and what was gathered from the hundredth penny* [10], *where the rich are ſhamefully rated, is all ſpent in the rewards of the two Legions* [11]. *There is an infinite expence upon us, to ſupport the armies, which now defend us; and alſo yours: for our* Caſſius *ſeems likely to come ſufficiently provided* [12]. *But I long to talk*

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[9] This tribute ſeems to have been a ſort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's ſubſtance, and had been wholly diſuſed in *Rome*, ever ſince the conqueſt of *Macedonia* by *P. Æmilius*; which produced a revenue ſufficient, to eaſe the Republic ever after from that burthen, till the preſent neceſſity obliged them to renew it. [Plin. H. n. 33. 3.] From the averſion, which even the honeſt are here ſaid to have ſhewn to the renewal of it, one cannot but reflect on the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected the Republic in this age, and haſtened it's ruin. See life of Cic. V. 2. p. 469.

[10] A tax of 1 per Cent, paid by the month.

[11] The Senate had paſſed a decree, to inſure *to the 4th and Martial Legions* all the rewards, which *Octavius* had promiſed to them, upon their declaring themſelves for the authority of the Senate againſt *Antony*. Which, after *Antony*'s defeat, they were now making good to them. Philip. 5. 19.

[12] As to *Caſſius*'s conduct in this war, and his diligence in providing himſelf with money, and all other neceſſaries for the ſupport of it, the reader may ſee it compared with *Brutus*'s, in Life of Cic. V. 2. p. 469.

re. Sed & hæc, & multa alia coram cupio; idque quam primum. De ſororis tuæ filiis non exſpectavi, Brute, dum ſcriberes. Omnino jam tempora (bellum enim ducetur) integram tibi cauſam reſervant. Sed ego à principio, cum divinare de belli diuturnitate non poſſem, ita cauſam egi puerorum in ſenatu, ut te arbitror è matris litteris potuiſſe cognoſcere. Nec vero ulla res erit unquam, in qua ego non, vel vitæ periculo, ea dicam eaque faciam, quæ te velle, quæque ad te pertinere arbitror. Vale vi. kalend. Sext.

over this, and many other things with you in perſon; and that quickly. As to your ſiſter's children, I did not wait, Brutus, *till you ſhould write to me: the times themſelves, ſince the war will be drawn into length, reſerve the whole affair to you* [13]. *But from the firſt, when I could not foreſee the continuance of the war, I pleaded the cauſe of the children in the Senate, in a manner, which you have been informed of, I ſuppoſe, by your mother's letters: nor can there ever be any caſe, where I will not both ſay and do, at the hazard even of my life, whatever I think agreeable either to your inclination, or your intereſt. Adieu.* July the 27th.

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[13] *Cicero* perceiving *Brutus*'s great tenderneſs for his Siſter's children, puts him here again in mind, that before the receit even of his letters, he had been uſing his authority with the Senate, to make that matter eaſy to them: but that without any endeavours of his, the times themſelves would throw the affair into his hands, whenever he ſhould come into *Italy*, ſince the war, by the treachery of *Lepidus*, was now likely to be carried into length.

Direction to the Bookbinder.

Place all the Cuts together immediately after the Preface to Germana Antiquitatis Monumenta.

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